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NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

**ENHANCING HOMELAND SECURITY EFFORTS BY
BUILDING STRONG RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE
MUSLIM COMMUNITY AND LOCAL LAW
ENFORCEMENT**

by

Dennis L. Jensen

March 2006

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**ENHANCING HOMELAND SECURITY EFFORTS BY BUILDING STRONG
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY AND LOCAL
LAW ENFORCEMENT**

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY STUDIES
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ABSTRACT

Following the events of September 11, 2001, federal and local law enforcement agencies struggled to gather the investigative information necessary from the Muslim community to assist in efforts to follow up on the incident and to prevent future attacks. It is undeniable that building a strong relationship between the local police and the Muslim community is essential in defending America against acts of terrorism. Key to this relationship is trust between the groups and bridging the gap of cultural differences.

This study sought to determine what factors associated with building relationships with established communities are applicable to the immigrant Muslim community to further public safety and homeland security needs. Specifically, the study examines the best practices used in an outreach effort in the African-American community in the City of Saint Paul and looks at how the application of those practices could be used to produce results in the Muslim community. This examination includes generalizing potential implications associated with the successful African-American outreach process and tests the applicability of that process to the Muslim community building effort.

Six community relationship factors common to the two community outreach projects are identified and examined. Only two of these six factors are seen as having an influence on the outcome of the community outreach processes in the immigrant Muslim community: police culture and community culture and language.

The research further demonstrates that community policing is the cornerstone of community outreach, that individual relationships built by law enforcement officers form the platform for community outreach, and that the complexity of culture in new immigrant communities requires law enforcement to go beyond the traditional community policing efforts to attain acceptable levels of cultural competency.

Finally, the study finds that the true best practice to prevent terrorism is to build trust with the community you are serving.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This thesis is intended for use by the executive level of local law enforcement and explores how police agencies can build strong relationships with the Muslim community to enhance both public safety and homeland security concerns. The exploration begins with an examination of the process involved in building a successful relationship between the Saint Paul Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Saint Paul Minnesota Police Department. This examination will identify lessons learned that might apply to other law enforcement outreach efforts. Applying the lessons learned should improve the probability of replicating the relationship-building process within the Muslim community in the greater Saint Paul metropolitan area.

The examination included in this thesis involves a comparative case study that dissects the process used by the Saint Paul NAACP and the Saint Paul Police Department beginning in 2001. This study provides the basis for hypotheses regarding factors that may influence the success or failure of utilizing a similar process with Muslim communities. The research will also examine the factors that are similar and dissimilar in the Muslim communities when compared to the African-American community and how the police department relates to each of these groups. The lessons learned and hypotheses developed regarding the critical factors identified will become the road map for a participant-observer journey through the Muslim community of the greater Saint Paul metropolitan area as part of this research project.

A. PROBLEM

Law enforcement agencies experienced serious impediments while attempting to develop information during the investigative process immediately following the terrorist events of 9/11/01. The law enforcement community realized that the most appropriate time to build relationships with the various communities they serve is not during a time of crisis. One of the lessons learned in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 9/11/01

involved the absolute need for law enforcement to cultivate relationships with the Muslim communities in the United States to address a variety of needs driven by the new reality of terrorism.¹

The responsibility for developing strong relationships with the Muslim communities should be within the purview of local law enforcement agencies, based on the philosophical precepts of community policing. Trojanowicz states that the fundamental nature of community policing involves community empowerment, engagement, and partnerships with the local law enforcement agency.² Local law enforcement has an ability to cultivate the necessary relationships that federal law enforcement cannot hope to accomplish. The report by Davies et al. supports this premise while examining the different roles local and federal law enforcement agencies play within the community for developing counterterrorism information.³

The process of building a relationship with the Muslim community is more complex than the process that takes place between the African-American community and law enforcement due to the police department's lack of familiarity with the language and culture of the Muslim community. The complexity of the process associated with building a relationship increases the time required to achieve a working level of trust and may become an impediment to establishing a relationship with some measure of permanency. Reaching a level of trust may become more difficult if a negative incident (such as a high-profile allegation of misconduct by a law enforcement officer) occurs before a working relationship is established. Law enforcement agencies may improve their likelihood of building a successful relationship with the Muslim community by relying upon a best practices model developed from lessons learned by other law enforcement agencies during outreach to Muslim communities.

¹ The report focuses on local law enforcement's role in diverse communities and the need to balance involvement in terrorism-related investigations with the need to maintain positive relationships with diverse communities. Heather J. Davies, et al. *Protecting Your Community From Terrorism: Vol. 2: Working With Diverse Communities* (Washington, DC 20036: Police Executive Research Forum, 2004).

² The authors also maintain that the over-arching philosophy of community policing requires the police to work as closely with the community as possible. Robert Trojanowicz, et al. *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective*, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing Company, 1998).

³ Community leaders cited positive interactions with local law enforcement because they have a greater level of contact and trust with community members than federal law enforcement agencies. Heather J. Davies, et al. *Protecting Your Community From Terrorism. Vol. 2: Working With Diverse Communities* (Washington, DC 20036: Police Executive Research Forum, 2004).

The relationship between the police department and the NAACP in Saint Paul, Minnesota (used as a comparative case study for this thesis) provides an example of a successful long-term community policing partnership between local law enforcement and the community.⁴ This partnership, formalized in 2001 with a voluntary agreement mediated by the United States Department of Justice, serves as an example of how the existence of a strong relationship built on trust between the African-American community and the police department allows for open two-way communication. This relationship has helped to avert social unrest and the potential loss of community trust following several incidents involving police actions that produced tragic outcomes for all involved.

The Saint Paul Police Department's outreach to the Muslim community is aimed at building a strong police-community relationship similar to the partnership with the African-American community, with outcomes from this effort serving as the best practices model for other agencies.

Applying the model in the greater Saint Paul Metropolitan Area involves an estimated Muslim population between 80,000 and 130,000 people.⁵ The Muslims in the area have a larger population base than the African-American or Hmong communities, yet this population is generally isolated from mainstream society and was largely ignored by law enforcement prior to the terrorist events of 9/11/01.

⁴ During 2001, in what has been described as a national groundbreaking agreement between the Saint Paul, MN Chapter of the NAACP and the Saint Paul Police Department, the collective group conducted several meetings resulting in a voluntary DOJ mediated agreement designed to prevent racial profiling and bias based policing. City of Saint Paul, MN Police Department, "NAACP Agreement," City of Saint Paul, Minnesota. <http://www.stpaul.gov/depts/police/agreement.pdf> (accessed June 13, 2005).

⁵ Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, "Community Dividend: Size of Twin Cities Muslim Community Difficult to Determine" (Community Development no. 1 (2002): October 28, 2005). <http://minneapolisfed.org/pubs/cd/02-1/population.cfm> (accessed October 28, 2005). The population estimate of 70,000 – 80,000 people provided by the Federal Reserve Bank is three years old and reflects an estimate lower than the actual Muslim population in 2005.

B. SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

Building a strong relationship between the Muslim community and local law enforcement is essential to attaining the goals of defending America against acts of terrorism and working with the community to prevent crime and protect individual civil rights. Islamic fundamentalists are responsible for many of the acts of terrorism in the world today. Islamic terrorists intent on committing an act of terror in the United States would, by necessity, strive to remain as anonymous as possible until they are ready to act. The individuals are less likely to be discovered if they secrete themselves in an immigrant Muslim community. The Muslim community, as is the case in any other community, must develop a level of trust in local law enforcement before an agency can expect measurable cooperation in the area of public safety or homeland security matters.⁶

Developing personal relationships with Muslim community leaders builds the trust necessary for open dialogue. Cultivating these relationships usually requires extensive time and effort before reaching the point where the community is willing to enter into a partnership with law enforcement. This is especially true in the immigrant Muslim community, due to a fear and mistrust of the military and police based on community members' experience with abuse and torture in their countries of origin.⁷ Developing a partnership moves beyond simple cooperation to a relationship that involves both entities working collaboratively to reach common goals. This thesis will present a best practices model for use by other local law enforcement agencies in the United States, to guide their efforts in building the strong relationships with their Muslim communities necessary to meet the needs of community policing and homeland security in the new reality of terrorism.⁸

⁶ Louise Cainkar, *U.S. Muslim Leaders and Activists Evaluate Post 9/11 Domestic Security Policies* (New York, NY: Social Science Research Council, 2004), 1-2. http://www.ssrc.org/programs/gsc/publications/gsc_activities/migration/cainkar.pdf (accessed November 18, 2005). This paper refers to American Muslim leaders' desire to help defeat terrorism by playing a role in exposing a terrorist threat should one become evident in their community.

⁷ Anita Khashu, Robin Busch, and Zainab Latif, *Building Strong Police-Immigrant Community Relations: Lessons for a New York City Project* (New York, NY: Vera Institute of Justice, 2005) 3, http://www.vera.org/publication_pdf/300_564.pdf (accessed November 15, 2005). This paper supports the assertion that building a relationship with an immigrant community requires developing trust and addresses the issue of immigrant fear of police resulting from experiences in their country of origin.

⁸ Best practices, or smart practices, are examples of field-based activities, operational procedures, or capacity building approaches that are successful and sustainable in social and environmental terms and can be readily adopted by other individuals or organizations.

C. LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis builds on studies associated with six bodies of knowledge: efforts by police agencies to improve relationships with Muslim communities; the psychology of immigrant fear; racial profiling; race relations; interactions with police and community; and community policing efforts.

Research on improving relations between police agencies and Muslim communities generally explores the value of educating law enforcement officers about the cultural differences that exist in the Muslim community to improve their daily contact with people in that community. The research is concerned with attaining a level of cultural competency to improve a police officer's interaction with the different ethnic groups, and parallels the material distributed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.⁹ This approach has merit as a baseline effort, is a generally accepted law enforcement practice intended to reduce conflict, and has proven successful in the many diverse communities found in metropolitan areas of the United States. Local law enforcement needs to move beyond merely addressing conflict reduction methods and instead work to develop strong community policing partnerships that fulfill community-policing demands that include homeland security needs.

Developing a community policing partnership with a specific community requires a relationship built on trust. Andrew Goldsmith discusses trust and police reform, describing trust as an abstract concept based on personal experience and interaction that creates an expectation for future behavior. Trust can be either interpersonal or institutional, but interpersonal trust can compensate for low levels of institutional trust.¹⁰ Individual relationships between police officers and community members are the building blocks for successfully cultivating a relationship on a much larger scale between the community and the police department. Creating an atmosphere of trust is especially difficult for a law enforcement agency when working with immigrants from East Africa.

⁹ Joe Navarro, "Interacting with Arabs and Muslims," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 71, no. 9 (2002), 20-23.

¹⁰ Andrew Goldsmith, "Police Reform and the Problem of Trust," *Theoretical Criminology* 9, no. 4 (November 2005), 443-470.
<http://www.csa.com/ids70/gateway.php?mode=pdf&doi=10.1177%2F1362480605057727&db=sagecrim-set-c&s1=2c8649ed326250550ce52f93f3c83fd3&s2=ee2671b7892caa7f3dad7e18913ed491>.

Somali immigrants comprise the largest East African Muslim population group in the greater Saint Paul Metropolitan Area, and Minnesota is the home to the largest population of Somali people in the United States. The experience of the East African immigrants, specifically the Somali and Oromo, differs significantly from that of other established immigrant populations, according to an article by Linda Halcon, et al. regarding trauma and coping by refugee youth.¹¹ Many of the immigrants lived in an area of the world that has suffered civil war, famine, natural disaster, and other catastrophic events, causing them to flee their country of origin with little or no preparation. Many East African immigrants had direct experience with war, government oppression, imprisonment, and torture in their country of origin. These experiences have created psychological issues within the immigrant population that are most commonly associated with a sense of fear, loss, and powerlessness. A research paper written by Charles Kemp examines the mental health issues common to new immigrants due to trauma and displacement. This research identifies symptoms that parallel those associated with posttraumatic stress disorder.¹²

The language, culture, and religion of the immigrants are vastly different from those found in their new home, and new immigrants tend to live in close proximity to one another, providing in-group support mechanisms. However, this decision increases their level of isolation from mainstream culture and community resources. The community isolation tends to exacerbate attempts by mental health agencies to either assess or assist immigrants with their mental health issues.

The immigrants' negative experience with the military in their country of origin also engenders a level of fear and distrust of the police in the United States. The Vera Institute of Justice conducted a study of police-immigrant community relations in New York and found that immigrants' fear of the police in the United States results from experiences in their country of origin where the military were corrupt, oppressive, and

¹¹ Linda Halcon, Cheryl Robertson, and Kay Savik, "Trauma and Coping in Somali and Oromo Refugee Youth," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 35, no. 1 (2004), 17-25, <http://torpedo.nrl.navy.mil.libproxy.nps.navy.mil/tu/ps/doc.html?vol=35&dsn=23425671581310491570894&ssn=330&iss=1&st=JRNAL> (accessed November 28, 2005).

¹² Charles Kemp, and Lance Rasbridge, "Refugee Health~Immigrant Health: Mental Health," (Baylor University). http://www3.baylor.edu/~Charles_Kemp/refugee_mental_health.htm (accessed October 25, 2005).

violent organizations of repressive governments.¹³ Immigrants tend to equate police in the United States with the military in their country of origin. A research paper written by Paul Sherer in the *Journal on Immigration Policy* cites immigrant fear as a causal factor because the natural inclination of the refugee is to view governmental institutions, especially the police, with great trepidation, and avoid contact unless necessary. This sense of fear is enhanced when the local police are seen as acting in concert with federal agents of Immigration and Customs Enforcement.¹⁴ Ingrained perceptions notwithstanding, local law enforcement agencies can overcome immigrant and refugee fear by building personal and professional relationships with individuals and the community.

Gaining the trust necessary to overcome the sense of fear requires maintaining an ongoing dialogue with members of the immigrant community and tangible demonstrations of the police department's desire to improve the level of safety within the community. High-level police officials should be involved in addressing policy and procedure changes if necessary. Long-term commitment to the outreach process will engender positive relationships, not only with individuals, and will help the larger Muslim community overcome the effect of racial profiling that has occurred in the United States in the post 9/11 era.¹⁵

Prior to the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the Muslim community was not subjected to racial profiling practices by law enforcement in the same manner that the African-American community has endured in the United States. However, some Muslim advocates believe that the post 9/11 racial profiling of the Muslim community is part of an official federal government policy, positioning the community as outsiders, that has resulted in a distrust of police officers.¹⁶ The perception of sanctioned racial profiling

¹³ Anita Khashu, Robin Busch, and Zainab Latif, *Building Strong Police-Immigrant Community Relations: Lessons for a New York City Project* (New York, NY: Vera Institute of Justice, 2005). http://www.vera.org/publication_pdf/300_564.pdf (accessed November 15, 2005).

¹⁴ Paul Sherer, "Targets of Suspicion: The Impact of Post 9/11 Policies on Muslims, Arabs and South Asians in the United States," *Immigration Policy in Focus* 3, no. 2 (May 2004), 17.

¹⁵ Ibid., 8.

¹⁶ Lisa Hajjar, *In Times of Trouble: The Problem of Racial Profiling*, (New York, NY: Social Science Research Council, 2002), 3-4, http://www.ssrc.org/programs/gsc/gsc_quarterly/newsletter5/content/hajjar.page (accessed December 2, 2005).

damages the Muslim community, not only by creating a sense of fear and apprehension, but it is also counterproductive to the homeland security effort because it discourages the Muslim community's participation in identifying potential terrorist activity within the community.¹⁷

Community members eventually begin to believe that discrimination in the form of racial profiling exists and that it is widespread based on perceptions developed from anecdotal information from others in the community.¹⁸ If one considers that most people do not have direct contact with police officers engaged in perceived or actual racial profiling behavior, then the importance of indirect or anecdotal information becomes apparent in the development of a generalized negative attitude toward police officers. One incident involving racial profiling can have a larger effect within the community, based on the indirect or anecdotal experience relationship.¹⁹ When racial profiling affects the greater community, it causes a loss of trust and cooperation with the police; the actions are assumed to be common to all police officers and, as such, sanctioned by the department.²⁰ The loss of trust by the Muslim community can prevent successful police community outreach or negate existing positive relationships within the community.

¹⁷ Louise Cainkar, *US Muslim Leaders and Activists Evaluate Post 9/11 Domestic Security Policies*, (New York, NY: Social Science Research Council, 2004), 3-4.
http://www.ssrc.org/programs/gsc/publications/gsc_activities/migration/cainkar.pdf (accessed November 18, 2005).

¹⁸ Robin Shepard Engel, "Citizens' Perceptions of Distributive and Procedural Injustice during Traffic Stops with Police," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 42, no. 4 (November 2005), 473,
<http://www.csa.com/ids70/gateway.php?mode=pdf&doi=10.1177%2F0022427804272725&db=sagecrim-set-c&s1=2c8649ed326250550ce52f93f3c83fd3&s2=22fe84aac8fb194ed3a32f3773f6ca11>.

¹⁹ Dennis P. Rosenbaum, Amie M. Schuck, Sandra K. Costello, Darnell F. Hawkins, and Marianne K. Ring, "Attitudes Toward the Police: The Effects of Direct and Vicarious Experience," *Police Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (September 2005), 360,
<http://www.csa.com/ids70/gateway.php?mode=pdf&doi=10.1177%2F1098611104271085&db=sagecrim-set-c&s1=2c8649ed326250550ce52f93f3c83fd3&s2=85f3443d94ee5ad057ca256b9c4b8e81>.

²⁰ Ronald John Weitzer and Steven A. Tuch, "Racially Biased Policing: Determinants of Citizen Perceptions," *Social Forces* 83, no. 3 (2005), 1009-1030.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/social_forces/v083/83.3weitzer.html.

The effect of racial profiling on immigrant Muslim community members compounds the level of immigrant fear, while the impact of racial profiling on African-American and other communities of color engenders a feeling of hostility toward law enforcement.²¹ Racial profiling may affect individual ethnic communities differently but, in either case, the outcome is an adverse effect on law enforcement's race relations.

A research project in Maine focused on race relations in the Muslim community and detailed a community policing effort that moved beyond improving face-to-face relationships with local law enforcement intended to prevent bias and hate crimes. The research describes a Muslim community outreach program in which members of the Muslim community interviewed fellow Muslims who had been subjected to bias-based harassment in Maine. The study focused on the effects of the federal government's heightened enforcement of immigration laws and the increased law enforcement attention paid to the Muslim population in general. The project developed a strategy to reduce potential conflict between the mainstream population and the Muslim community, including organizing community meetings between law enforcement personnel and the Muslim community, designed to establish lines of communication before an incident occurs. The strategy also includes developing plans for joint efforts with the mainstream community to protect the Muslim community from reprisals in the event of future terrorist acts attributed to Islamist groups.²²

According to a study by the U.S. Department of Justice, local law enforcement continually benefits from strong community partnerships in many different ways, as demonstrated by the success of the community policing philosophy practiced by most local law enforcement agencies.²³ One primary reason for developing positive relationships with the community is to enhance the crime fighting capability of the

²¹ Robert C. Davis and Nicole J. Henderson, "Willingness to Report Crimes: The Role of Ethnic Group Membership and Community Efficacy," *Crime & Delinquency* 49, no. 4 (October 2003), 564-580. <http://www.csa.com/ids70/gateway.php?mode=pdf&doi=10.1177%2F0011128703254418&db=sagecrim-set-c&s1=2c8649ed326250550ce52f93f3c83fd3&s2=37fc4de6253331defe9c590e673eb869>.

²² Stephen Wessler, *After 9-11: Understanding the Impact on Muslim Communities of Maine; Responding to September 11th Project* (Portland, Maine: Center for the Prevention of Hate Violence - University of Southern Maine, 2002).

²³ Matthew J. Hickman and Brian A. Reaves, *Community Policing in Local Police Department, 1997 and 1999* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice - Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2003), 2-4. <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/pub/pdf/cplpd99.pdf> (accessed October 23, 2005).

agency by having an established relationship of trust between the community members and law enforcement so the people are more likely to provide information regarding criminal activity. The crime-fighting information exchange transfers directly to obtaining terrorist related information from a community that is willing to come forth with their suspicions.²⁴

Since 2001, law enforcement agencies working in Muslim communities have fallen victim to community backlash against the actions of one federal law enforcement agency – the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). One example is an incident involving Ali Erikenoglu in Paterson, New Jersey, during a midnight questioning conducted by the FBI in September of 2001.²⁵ Erikenoglu is a well-known and respected leader within the Paterson Muslim community who actively supported the establishment of a Mosque in the city. Erikenoglu was awakened at approximately 11:00 P.M. by the sound of four FBI agents searching his backyard and garbage. Erikenoglu allowed the agents into his apartment and asked them to remove their shoes in deference to his Muslim culture. The agents refused to do so and stood on the carpet Erikenoglu used for religious prayers, causing him to feel violated. Although born in the United States, Erikenoglu was required to produce identification and subjected to questioning in a manner that terrified him.

Ali Erikenoglu is the perfect example of a leader within the Muslim community who law enforcement should strongly consider including in initial discussions when seeking to build a relationship. Reaching out to a broad spectrum of leaders within the community is critical to beginning the process of building strong relationships based on trust and designed to further the information-gathering efforts critical to homeland security needs. The resentment created by the mistreatment of Erikenoglu caused a backlash that may have denied law enforcement officials the chance to obtain important information related to potential terrorist activity at a critical time.

²⁴ Louise Cainkar, *US Muslim Leaders and Activists Evaluate Post 9/11 Domestic Security Policies* (New York, NY: Social Science Research Council, 2004), 2.
http://www.ssrc.org/programs/gsc/publications/gsc_activities/migration/cainkar.pdf (accessed November 18, 2005).

²⁵ Steven Brill, *After: How America Confronted The September 12 Era*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2003), 99-101.

A good strategy for avoiding the tragedy that befell not only Erikenoglu, but law enforcement as well, begins with the simple recognition of cultural differences and is the focus of studies related to the process of police-community interactions. Several examples on educating law enforcement officers about the differences are available. A research project, funded by the U. S. Department of Justice and conducted by Heather Davies and Gerard Murphy of the Police Executive Research Forum, is an example of the process involved in community relationship building in the post 9/11 era. The primary focus is on understanding multicultural communities and suggesting measures to address bias-based crimes and the overall safety of the community members.²⁶ The authors argue that community building should be designed not as a mechanism for gathering information but instead should be primarily about strengthening the community as a whole. This perspective relates to the reference in this thesis to the accepted value of community policing and attaining a level of cultural competency in what should be a baseline effort intended to reduce unnecessary conflict with the community.

The Davies and Murphy study focuses on how law enforcement should interact with diverse communities in general and includes a sub-focus on the Muslim communities in the United States. Following the recommendations in this study will yield a successful outcome in the area of general relationship building by giving first responders a heightened level of understanding of the cultural differences of the Muslim community. The recommendations downplay the potential homeland security benefits beyond improved community policing efforts in the Muslim community.

The Davies and Murphy study also states that, contrary to public perception, terrorists do not necessarily live in or interact with ethnically defined communities. This statement in the Davies and Murphy study differs from the prevailing view held by the FBI. During testimony before the United States Senate, FBI Director Robert Mueller spoke of the three main concerns the FBI has for the future in combating terrorism. One of the concerns Mueller referred to involves the potential for al Qaeda to leverage radical

²⁶ See page 38 for a discussion by a chief law enforcement officer's view related to community outreach primarily designed to strengthen the community. This perspective is integral to long-term success with community building. Heather J. Davies and Gerald Murphy, *Protecting Your Community From Terrorism: Vol. 2: Working With Diverse Communities* (Washington, DC 20036: Police Executive Research Forum, 2004).

American converts and other indigenous extremists living in the Muslim community. Mueller asserts that radical Muslim converts are likely to attend mosques in the community and may be open about their beliefs.²⁷

It is incumbent upon local law enforcement to build relationships and partnerships within the Muslim communities, as is the case with all other communities the agency serves. This thesis supports the FBI perspective, which suggests incorporating the possibility that Muslim extremists may conceal themselves within a Muslim community. In addition, this thesis supports adding the perspective of Murphy and Davies, that building relationships strengthens community-policing efforts, which should lead to an enhanced level of homeland security for all of the community.

Whenever local law enforcement establishes trust relationships with the community, the exchange of information increases and a reduction in the level of conflict occurs.²⁸ The information exchange also benefits the community and law enforcement in the area of crime reduction. Terrorists are known to use proceeds from criminal activity, such as narcotics distribution, to fund their terrorist organization.²⁹ When a police department and the community develop a partnership based on trust, they are more likely to report suspicious activity or criminal behavior that may eventually uncover terrorist

²⁷ The other two concerns expressed by Mueller involved covert operatives forming sleeper cells and al Qaeda's desire to obtain and use chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear, or high-energy explosives (CBRNE). Robert S. Mueller III, *Testimony before the Senate Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate, February 16, 2005*.

²⁸ Robert Trojanowicz, Victor E. Kappeler, Larry K. Gaines, and Bonnie Bucqueroux, *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective*, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing Company, 1998), 9-24.

²⁹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Drug Trafficking and International Terrorism - Intelligence Bulletin no. 187," *Intelligence Bulletin* (Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C.) (accessed November 16, 2005) and LaVerle Berry, Glenn E. Curtis, Rex A. Hudson, and Nina A. Lollars, *A Global Overview of Narcotics-Funded Terrorist and Other Extremist Groups* (Washington, D.C.: The Library of Congress, 2002), 8. <http://knxup2.hsdl.org/homesec/docs/zoom/cm/ns4231/hudson2002.pdf> (accessed October 24, 2005).

activity.³⁰ This thesis advocates that local law enforcement must build partnerships within the Muslim communities that rely upon a model of community policing that incorporates an element of terrorism awareness for prevention and response purposes.³¹

In summary, core information regarding the value of community policing and the dynamics of individual and community trust is readily available and provides a good basis for understanding why long-term relationships are necessary to build community-policing partnerships based on mutual trust. This information can be used to understand the issues associated with building a relationship between a local law enforcement agency and immigrant Muslim communities.

Research studies of racial profiling, race relations and police-community interaction highlight an important issue confronting the law enforcement community for the past several decades. The effect of racial profiling on minority communities and concomitant negative impact on public safety demand the prohibition of bias-based police practices. The terrorist acts of September 11, 2001 created an environment in which Muslims (and people with physical attributes common to the Middle East) have been subjected to racial profiling practices. Understanding the effect of racial profiling and the dynamics of race relations are important to the success of local law enforcement's outreach to immigrant Muslim communities when seeking to establish relationships built on trust and cooperation.

Research exists regarding the psychology of immigrant fear associated with the immigrants' experience with the military and police in their country of origin. Law enforcement officers need to understand the cause of this fear, and the probability that this sense of fear will extend to law enforcement officers in the United States, and that this understanding is critical to establishing police-community relationships with the Muslim community. Other factors influencing an immigrant's level of fear include beginning life in a country whose religion, culture, and language differs significantly

³⁰ U.S. Department of Justice - Community Relations Service, *Principles of Good Policing: Avoiding Violence between Police and Citizens* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 2003), 8. <http://knxup2.ad.nps.navy.mil/homesec/docs/justice/nps20-081805-06.pdf> (accessed October 15, 2005)

³¹ Matthew C. Scheider, Robert E. Chapman, and Michael F. Seelman, "Connecting the Dots for a Proactive Approach," *Border and Transportation Security*, no. 4th Quarter, 2003), 158-162, <http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/mime/open.pdf?Item=1046> (accessed October 28, 2005).

from that of the immigrant. Law enforcement officers need to attain a level of cultural competency to avoid religious and cultural transgressions that can adversely affect building relationships with the community.

The information from the published literature, as it relates to six relevant areas – efforts by police agencies to improve relationships with Muslim communities, the psychology of immigrant fear, racial profiling, race relations, interactions with police and community, and community policing efforts – will assist the Saint Paul Police Department’s outreach to the Muslim community by providing the police officers with a basic understanding of what to expect during the outreach process. One of the desired outcomes of the Saint Paul Police Department’s outreach to the Muslim community is to learn more during the process that will add to the existing base of knowledge. The increased understanding will be used to improve the likelihood of successful outreach to the Muslim community, not only in Saint Paul but also in the greater law enforcement community. Enhancing efforts to address terrorism is mentioned in the literature as another outcome of strong community partnerships due to an increased two-way flow of information

D. COMMUNITY-ORIENTED POLICING STRATEGY APPLIED TO TERRORISM ISSUES

Local law enforcement agencies adapted community-policing strategies to accommodate counter-drug efforts directed at combating narcotics trafficking beginning in the 1980s and continuing to the present. Successfully investigating illegal narcotics activity in the neighborhoods requires a partnership with community members who are willing to provide the information necessary to disrupt organized drug distribution. Community-policing practices are well suited to address terrorism issues in the same manner that local law enforcement employed community-policing partnerships with the community to develop prevention and problem-solving strategies associated with counter-drug efforts.

Local law enforcement community-policing models should include education and training components designed to develop an understanding of the basic circumstances associated with the dynamics of terrorist activity. Community-policing models need to

consider counterterrorism requirements in light of the expanded role local law enforcement agencies are expected to perform in relation to prevention efforts. Journal articles on community-policing and terrorism, written by Scheider, Chapman, and Seelman, identify the threat posed by terrorism as an opportunity for local law enforcement to create partnerships with the community to exchange information designed to enhance prevention of terrorist activity.³²

Community-policing counterterrorism strategies would include the training and education of police officers and the community about behavior and circumstances that may indicate an individual is involved in, or associated with, terrorist activity. Training and education for police officers is necessary to impart the need for flexibility and cultural competency essential to understanding new cultures and immigrant populations and to succeed in building strong police-community relationships. Maintaining the transparency of agency operations and being honest with the community about the intended outcomes and expectations of the relationship is an important aspect of developing a level trust with the community.

Establishing a counterterrorism component of community policing could expand beyond law enforcement and evolve into a model that might be defined as a “community-government” model. This model of expanded community policing would incorporate other public safety disciplines and government agencies working together to further counterterrorism requirements. Fire, EMS, Housing Inspectors, Public Health, and other public safety employees who have daily contact with the community need to be included in the process. Combining the observations and reporting of suspicious events or circumstances by all of the partners in public safety, including the community, could further the efforts to prevent terrorism in the future.

Willard Oliver poses an opposite view of the relationship between local law enforcement, community, and homeland security-era policing that would require an organizational model of policing similar to the professional or reform era of policing of

³² Matthew C. Scheider and Robert Chapman, "Community Policing and Terrorism," *Journal of Homeland Security* (April 2003, 2003), 1-6, <http://www.homelandsecurity.org/newjournal/articles/scheider-chapman.html> (accessed October 25, 2005).

the 1970s.³³ Oliver defines local law enforcement as a minor facet of homeland security era policing and asserts that national and international intelligence organizations are the key to prevention of terrorist activity. The importance of community involvement is lessened and communication flows one-way from local law enforcement to the community. The homeland security era policing model suggested by Oliver appears to dismiss the value of police-community relationships in the prevention of terrorism. This assertion is contrary to the National Strategy for Homeland Security position that local community information is critical to the prevention of terrorist acts.³⁴

E. HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis is that applying the best practices learned from the NAACP – Saint Paul Police outreach process should enhance the process of building strong relationships within the Muslim community in the greater Saint Paul metropolitan area.

F. METHODOLOGY

The thesis methodology is the comparative case study model. The first case describes the efforts to establish cooperative relationships between the Saint Paul Police Department and the African-American community. The second case details efforts to establish cooperative relationships with the Muslim community in Saint Paul. In both cases, data is derived from the author's experiences as a participant observer and from interviews with other participants.

The process utilized by the Saint Paul NAACP and the Saint Paul Police Department is examined and used to develop hypotheses regarding factors that influence the success or failure of a similar process undertaken with other communities. The research will also examine the factors that are similar and dissimilar in the Muslim communities when compared to the African-American community and in the police department.

³³ Willard M. Oliver, "The Era of Homeland Security: September 11, 2001 to ...," *Crime and Justice International* 21, no. 85 (2005), 9-17. <http://www.cjcenter.org/documents/pdf/cji/Cji0503-04.pdf> (accessed December 3, 2005).

³⁴ Office of Homeland Security, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2002), 12-13.

Leadership and documentation of the outreach process with the Muslim community was the responsibility of the researcher. In the role of Assistant Chief of Police, the author is in a unique position that allows direct participation in this initiative, as a law enforcement official and as a researcher. The author's participation in the African-American community outreach process was solely that of a law enforcement official. The opportunity for direct participation in both cases is distinctive, yet may present difficulties related to less than objective analysis, absent measures to guard against personal bias.

The author selected six factors that influenced the African-American outreach and the NAACP Agreement based on direct observation, involvement in the process, and research on the identified relationship factors outlined below. An analysis of what was learned about relationship building in the initial phase of outreach to the Muslim community suggests that commonalities may exist between the six factors determined influential in the NAACP outreach. Each case study will examine the following six aspects of the relationships:

1. Community Leadership

The initial examination of the two cases raises many questions that require exploration. Some of the questions relate to the level of community cohesiveness and determining whether a readily identifiable leadership group exists within the Muslim community. Specifically, is there a leadership body similar to the NAACP that is empowered to represent the entire Muslim community?

Leadership in the immigrant community does not necessarily rest with the most politically active individuals because they may not be connected to the social networks present in the isolated new immigrant communities. Leadership at the social network level may be dispersed throughout the diverse individual Muslim communities and maybe the best avenue for communication.³⁵

³⁵ Anita Khashu, Robin Busch, and Zainab Latif, *Building Strong Police-Immigrant Community Relations: Lessons for a New York City Project* (New York, NY: Vera Institute of Justice, 2005), 9. http://www.vera.org/publication_pdf/300_564.pdf (accessed November 15, 2005).

2. Police Department Leadership

Leadership is explained by Joan Magretta as “The real output of planning isn’t meetings or strategy books. It is insight as to where an organization is headed and what it needs to get there. Properly used, the core concepts of management can and should lead to powerful, practical insights.”³⁶ The leadership of the organization is perhaps the most significant component necessary to move the agency forward toward the accomplishment of its goals.

Questions exist about the leadership within the police department, related to specific personal characteristics and negotiation skills. Is there a vision for the future relationship with the Muslim community? Does the current police department leadership have the ability to connect with the Muslim community? During the NAACP Voluntary Mediated Agreement, the Chief at the time had connections spanning three decades of working with the African-American community and the NAACP leadership. The relationship with the Muslim community is in the early stages, without the benefit of time that is crucial for establishing solid personal commitment and ownership. A longstanding relationship between the Muslim community and the police department is absent, which increases the difficulty of building trust.

In the absence of a longstanding history with the Muslim community, it is incumbent upon the police department leadership to create a vision for the future that is inclusive of the community. As quoted by Northouse (2004), Kotter (1990) states that the primary function of “leadership is to produce change and movement . . . leadership is about seeking adaptive and constructive change.”³⁷ Northouse says it this way, “Leaders change the way people think about what is possible.”³⁸ Leaders can relate “what is possible” through the strategic planning process, with the creation of a vision. Creating, communicating, and seeking commitment for the vision are the most critical tasks the leadership of the law enforcement agency must address. In addition, the leader must

³⁶ Joan Magretta, *What Management Is* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 2002), 13.

³⁷ Peter G. Northouse, *Leadership Theory and Practice*, 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2004), 8.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

inspire and energize individuals to action. The vision statement should be created by the leadership with input, from a planning group and from those who will be served by the vision: the public.

3. Mediation

Concerns about third party mediation skills arise if the outreach process reaches a point when the community and the police wish to create a voluntary mediated agreement similar to the NAACP process. What importance do mediation and the individual mediator have in a successful process? The mediator used in the NAACP Agreement had a long history of engagement with community building, a factor that may be absent if the police department moves toward a formal agreement with the Muslim community similar to the NAACP Agreement.

The formal process of mediation may not be appropriate for the Muslim outreach process at this point, considering the community's fragmentation and decentralized leadership. However, as the greater Muslim community matures, the possibility of institutionalizing the relationship may exist, allowing the Saint Paul Police Department to enter into a formal agreement in the future with a civic organization empowered by the larger Muslim community.

The U. S. Department of Justice-Community Relations Service (CRS) conducted the NAACP mediation process with the Saint Paul Police Department. The basic goals of mediation differ from those of traditional, formal, and legalistic dispute resolution procedures. Traditional dispute resolution focuses on fact-finding, pinpointing responsibility, determining guilt or innocence, and punishing those found guilty. In contrast, mediation focuses on understanding, problem solving, and reconciliation.

4. Community Culture and Language

Cultural and language differences exist between the Muslim community and the leadership of the police department that were not present, except for issues related to racial bias and discrimination, during the process of outreach to the African-American community. Can the police department educate the police officers about the cultural and language differences of the Muslim community in an effective and timely manner to avoid unnecessary confrontations that would impede community outreach? Personal relationships between the community and the police are imperative to a successful

outcome. Can the relationships be as strong as they need to be if the two parties are unable to overcome the inherent cultural differences? How effective or successful will the overall effort be, in relation to building strong community relationships, if the identified Muslim community leadership and the police department leadership encounter language barriers? Will the eventual outcome fail to reach the desired level of cooperation currently enjoyed with the African-American community?

Language and culture are cited as significant barriers to new immigrant communities interacting with law enforcement and the criminal justice system in the United States. The cultural factors affect interaction with law enforcement due to a myriad of reasons, including a fear of law enforcement and the shame associated with being a victim of personal violent crimes such as sexual assault or robbery. The language factor is equally distressing due to the frustration of being unable to communicate directly with a majority of law enforcement officers.³⁹

5. Police Culture

An often-overlooked aspect of police-community relationships involves the police department employees and their personal beliefs and level of inflexibility. Do police officers view the Muslim community differently than they view the African-American community? How will the police culture influence the success of community outreach?

Law enforcement agencies, by their nature, are steeped in the culture and history of their organizations. They carry forward rules and rituals and act in ways that are decades old. In a way, they may be the best model for change once the appropriate change is identified and, if there is participatory buy-in by the group, they have the institutional heart to carry it forward. In addition to, and perhaps in part because of, law enforcement's close relationship to the Constitution, change in these organizations is often slow and due diligence must be performed to insure that the changes are supported.

The most crucial part of any organizational change lies with the leadership of the organization. Whatever change the law enforcement organization moves towards, the leader must help people find "the gift of significance, rooted in confidence that the work

³⁹ Robert C. Davis and Edna Erez, "Immigrant Populations as Victims: Toward a Multicultural Justice System," *National Institute of Justice - Research in Brief* (May 1998), 3-8, <http://www.ncjrs.org/pdffiles/167571.pdf> (accessed December 14, 2005).

is worthy of one's efforts and the institution deserves one's commitment and loyalty." According to Lee Bolman and Terence Deal, "Work is exhilarating and joyful at its best; arduous, frustrating, and exhausting in less happy moments."⁴⁰ Ultimately, however, with all the strategic planning and change models in place, the real heart of any organizational success lies in its ethics and integrity. Bolman and Deal state it this way:

Ethics ultimately must be rooted in soul: an organization's understanding of its deeply held identity, beliefs, and values . . . Every organization needs to evolve for itself a sense of its own ethical and spiritual core . . . Signs are everywhere that institutions in many developed nations suffer from a crisis of meaning and moral authority. Rapid, change, high mobility, globalization, and racial and ethnic conflict tear at the fabric of community. The most important responsibility of managers is not to answer every question or always make the right decision. They cannot escape their responsibility to track budgets, motivate people, respond to political pressure, and attend to symbols. As leaders, managers serve a deeper, more powerful, and more durable function if they are models and catalysts for such values as excellence, caring, justice and faith.⁴¹

Organizational development can assist police managers and leaders in bringing about the planned changes in culture, as identified by the strategic planning process, in the law enforcement organization and help the law enforcement agency identify its core values and ethics in the process.

6. Community Concerns

Concessions made by the police department (during mediation) to specific aspects of search and seizure rules that are constitutionally correct, yet troublesome to the African-American community, may not be important to the Muslim community. What are the issues of concern within the Muslim community? Are there accommodations or concessions the police department can make to enhance the relationship with the Muslim community?

⁴⁰Lee G. Bolman and Terrence E. Deal, *Reframing Organizations: Artistry, Choice, and Leadership*, The Jossey-Bass Business & Management Series, 3rd ed. (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2003), 406.

⁴¹ Ibid., 407.

G. OUTLINE

1. Chapter I– Introduction

Building stronger relationships between local law enforcement and the community is an absolute necessity, but this can be difficult depending on the nature of the historical relationship. Cultural variances exist with the communities that collectively define a metropolitan area and each community may have individual issues despite having similar demographics. Community outreach requires a tailor-made effort when moving beyond the basic threshold of affording all communities respect and equality with regard to civil rights and cultural values. Strong community relationships afford the ongoing dialogue necessary to enhance both public safety and homeland security efforts.

This thesis will focus on the process of relationship building in general, developing a best practices model for building relationships within the Muslim communities beyond the basic threshold of cultural sensitivity and concern for civil rights mentioned above.

The review of existing literature examines the research done thus far related to law enforcement training on cultural differences with respect to the Muslim community. The literature review explores six bodies of knowledge that are relevant to police outreach to communities of color and new immigrant communities. The thesis also makes recommendations related to community policing practices that may require adaptation to provide for homeland security needs in the era of terrorism.

The final part of Chapter I identifies six factors associated with relationship building useful for a comparative examination of the two case studies contained in this thesis. The comparison of the factors is designed to be useful for supporting the best practices recommendations associated with police-community outreach programs.

2. Chapter II – The 2001 Saint Paul Police-NAACP Voluntary Mediated Agreement

This chapter is a case study that examines the history and the progress of the relationship between the African-American community and the Saint Paul Police Department. The chapter also documents the process of outreach necessary to establish the strong relationship required to reach consensus in the 2001 NAACP Agreement, as well as the dynamics of the relationship in the years subsequent to the agreement's implementation.

The research documents the independent and dependent variables related to the prior personal and professional relationships between the specific participants and entities involved in the NAACP Agreement. The author, acting in a participant-observer role, identifies the concerns, demands, concessions, and circumstances put forth by each entity throughout the agreement process. An examination of six factors that influenced the relationship and outcome of the outreach and agreement process are documented and explored in depth, providing a comparison for the case study in Chapter III, which examines the outreach to the Muslim community.

Personal interviews with the leadership of the African-American community and the police department help to understand the dynamics of the relationship preceding the agreement and the potential for sustaining a strong relationship in the future.

3. Chapter III – The 2005 Saint Paul Police-Muslim Community Outreach Program

This chapter presents a case study that examines the history and development of the relationship between the Muslim community and the Saint Paul Police Department. The study identifies leaders within the individual Muslim communities and determines what issues are important to each community. Interviews with community advocates help to define the impact of the six factors selected as influential in the process of building strong relationships with the Muslim communities.

The study documents the process of outreach and relationship building from the initial contact to a functional, yet developing, relationship with the elder leadership of the individual Muslim communities. The author conducted focus groups surveys with the elders, designed to gain understanding of their perception of the police department and

solicit suggestions for strengthening the relationship between the community and police. The chapter also documents the police department's formation of a partnership with the Muslim American Society, which is a national and local Muslim advocate group, designed to extend outreach to a broader segment of the Muslim community.

The chapter contains an in-depth examination of six factors selected that influenced the relationship and outcome of the outreach, to date, for comparison to the case study in Chapter II involving the outreach to the African-American community. The chapter closes with a forecast of the future of the Muslim community outreach program based on the progress of the relationship with the police department to date.

4. Chapter IV – Case Study Analysis

This chapter contains a comparison of the six factors deemed influential in the two case studies involving the police-community outreach to the NAACP and the African-American Community and the Muslim communities. The NAACP outreach information is analyzed and related to the Muslim community outreach information to determine whether any commonalities exist between the two community outreach processes. Additional analysis of the information examines whether there is any correlation between the factors that influenced the established outreach to the NAACP, and the continuing Muslim community outreach, that may be deemed important to a successful outcome.

5. Chapter V – Conclusions and Implications

This chapter will provide a conclusion that addresses the question raised in this thesis: Can an examination of the police outreach to the African-American community be useful in defining lessons learned that will enhance outreach to the Muslim community? This includes generalizing potential implications associated with the successful NAACP process and testing the applicability to the Muslim community building effort. This chapter will document the success or failure of the hypothesis of best practices transferability, and will make suggestions for future research that may be helpful with outreach and relationship building with the immigrant Muslim community and local law enforcement agencies.

II. THE 2001 SAINT PAUL POLICE–NAACP VOLUNTARY MEDIATED AGREEMENT

This chapter presents a case study examining the history of the African-American community and race relations in Saint Paul, Minnesota and of the relationship between the African-American community and the Saint Paul Police Department. The study includes an assessment of the evolution of policing models, progressing from the professional model through the development phases of the community-policing model employed in Saint Paul. The chapter also examines the process of police-community outreach necessary to establish the strong relationship that resulted in an agreement with the NAACP in 2001 designed to address racial profiling and community relations.

The Saint Paul Chapter of the NAACP and the Saint Paul Police Department agreed to meet and confer on issues related to racial profiling practices and bias-based policing in the City of Saint Paul. The U. S. Department of Justice-Community Relations Service was asked to mediate the formal process designed to establish a working relationship between the NAACP and the police department. The ensuing discussions resulted in the development of measures intended to address the African-American community's concerns related to racial profiling, expanding the powers of the Saint Paul Police Civilian Internal Affairs Review Commission, and to develop methods to improve relationships between the community and the police department.

The research in this chapter includes interviews with police and community leaders relating to their perspective of the process of community outreach, relationship building, and the benefits of forming a collaborative working environment. The six factors deemed influential to building a relationship are examined for comparison to the Muslim community outreach case study documented later in this thesis. This chapter also includes a review of the NAACP Agreement and the dynamics of the relationship in the years subsequent to the agreement, in an attempt to determine the long-term viability of the agreement.

A. HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA

The experience of the African-American community in the City of Saint Paul, Minnesota, during the period spanning the 1950s through the 1960s, was similar to other African-American communities in urban areas across the United States. The perception of mistreatment by the police department was but one aspect of the prevailing discriminatory social structure common to the times. African-American people living in Saint Paul believed they were subjected to racism and discrimination related to social, educational, housing, and employment opportunities in their daily lives.

The African-American people generally lived in an economically depressed area of the city known as the Rondo neighborhood. The neighborhood is, perhaps, best described by the people living in the area between 1950 through the early 1970s. Real life stories in the form of oral histories, presented in the book *Voices of Rondo*, describe pervasive racism and discrimination in the City of Saint Paul based on the skin color. Minnesota was considered more liberal than many other states, but the persistent denial of fundamental rights was part of everyday life. *Voices of Rondo* contains oral histories of thirty-three individuals that span more than sixty years of life in the Rondo neighborhood.⁴² Summaries of two stories selected from *Voices of Rondo* are included below to illustrate the racial strife in the City of Saint Paul and within the Saint Paul Police Department during the late 1950s and early 1960s.

The first story describing the tenor of the community comes from Benjamin Alexander Sr. who was a World War II veteran, a graduate of the University of Minnesota, and a business owner in Saint Paul. Mr. Alexander tells of African-Americans having to form their own social clubs that served as bars and restaurants because the commercial hotels, restaurants, and bars in downtown Saint Paul generally would not serve African-Americans. The establishments that did serve drinks to an African-American would break the glass rather than re-use it because “they would not serve a White person from a glass used by a Black person.”

⁴² Kateleen J. H. Cavett, *Voices of Rondo: Oral Histories of Saint Paul's Historic Black Community* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Syren Book Company, 2005). Benjamin Alexander's oral history is on pages 30-35 and James Griffin's oral history is on pages 65-78.

The second story describes the relationship between African-Americans and white officers within the police department and is told by James Stafford Griffin, who retired from the police department in 1983, at the rank of Deputy Chief, after serving forty-two years with the police department. Mr. Griffin relates the story of his promotion to the rank of sergeant in 1955 and the “big question on everybody’s mind” of whether or not the police department would put him in charge of white police officers. The answer to the question became clear when Sergeant James Griffin was assigned as a desk sergeant instead of supervising white police officers. Mr. Griffin says the racism and discrimination within the police department declined markedly over the next decade and continued to improve until he retired in 1983. A new police headquarters building, completed in 2003, was named the James S. Griffin Building in honor of his service to the community and the police department.

B. IMPROVING COMMUNICATIONS, ATTITUDES, AND RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND THE POLICE DEPARTMENT

The late 1960s and early 1970s was a time of change in the police department, with slow improvements in the relationship between the African-American community and the police. The improvements coincided with the national change in societal attitudes regarding racism and discrimination. John Morrow was hired as a Saint Paul Police Officer in 1967 and is currently the longest serving member of the department. Officer Morrow witnessed the change in relationships first hand as a police officer and related the facts and circumstances of the times during an interview.⁴³

Officer Morrow describes the late 1960s as a “tipping point” when discussing visible improvements in race relations from his perspective and his impressions of the larger African-American community. In spite of the perceived improvements noted by Officer Morrow, the City of Saint Paul experienced turbulent times, as evidenced by violent riots and civil disobedience during the period spanning 1968-1972. Several riots occurred at the University of Minnesota, spurred by Vietnam anti-war protests. Rioting also occurred during 1968 and 1969, in the neighborhoods of Saint Paul, stemming from

⁴³ John Morrow (Saint Paul Police Officer, 1967 – Present), in interview with Dennis L. Jensen, August 25, 2005 (Author’s Interview Files, Saint Paul, Minnesota).

community backlash to non-specific civil rights violations involving racism and discrimination. These acts of violence were generally the result of militant reactions within the community.

Violent interaction between the police and the militant factions of the African-American communities continued until the ambush-style murder of a white police officer in 1970. Two men and one woman from the Rondo community were responsible for luring Officer James Sackett to 859 Hague Avenue shortly after midnight on May 22, 1970. The suspects intended to shoot a white police officer to make a political statement and did not specifically target Officer Sackett. Officers Glen Kothe and James Sackett responded to a false call for help, from a pay phone, to assist a woman in labor. Sackett was shot with a high-powered rifle from across the street as he entered the residence. Information surfaced during the ensuing investigation that the two subjects shot the white officer to impress the national leadership of the Black Panthers, in the hope of establishing a local chapter of the Black Panthers in the city.

The African-American leadership in the community, troubled by the actions of the militants, came to the aid of the police department during the investigation and provided critical information that led to the identity of the two individuals responsible for the murder. Officer Morrow indicated that this incident seemed to create a transformation in the cooperative nature of the relationship between the African-American community and the police department. Morrow also described a change in the general attitude of the police officers about the African-American community, in that newly hired officers did not harbor the same biased attitudes older officers held. As the older officers retired, the relationship with the community improved as the new officers began developing individual relationships with community members. The department also initiated two new programs, during the same period, that coincided with the changing attitudes.

The first initiative, funded by the Model Cities Program in 1969, involved the formation of a police community relations project designed to work with community groups on developing projects. The second initiative, begun in 1970 and funded by the U.S. Department of Justice Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, involved the creation of a unit named HELP-P (Housing Environmental Liaison Police Project).

Officers assigned to the program worked in low-income housing projects on a full-time basis to improve relations with residents who were predominately African-American. These officers conducted policing in a manner consistent with the underlying principles of community policing that would not formally materialize until the late 1970s. An overwhelming majority of the police department continued to operate under the philosophy of the traditional policing model until 1977, when the department developed a neighborhood team-policing model.⁴⁴ This model of policing incorporates much of the problem-solving practices and community accessibility associated with the philosophy of community-oriented policing. The relationship between the community and the police department, at that time, was based primarily on individual efforts to build a modicum of trust and keep the lines of communication open at the street level, absent any formal relationships at the management or administrative level of the police department.

C. ENHANCING RELATIONSHIPS – NEIGHBORHOOD TEAM POLICING

In an effort to build on the individual relationships, the police department decided to decentralize patrol operations in 1977 by creating six neighborhood team-policing offices placed strategically throughout the city. The investigative, administrative, and support staff functions remained in the headquarters building. In team policing, command level officers receive the latitude necessary to conduct patrol operations tailored to specific neighborhood public safety issues and concerns. This model of policing focused on problem solving and encouraged neighborhood cooperation, as opposed to the call-driven response common to the traditional model of policing. Building community relationships remained the purview of the individual officers without any direct involvement by the management or administration of the police department. In fact, command level officers encouraged communication at the street level but would not engage in any formal process of communication unless a crisis arose,

⁴⁴ The traditional policing model, also known as the “professional” model, tends to focus on response to crime and those who commit crimes. Efficiency and effectiveness is measured in arrest rates and response times. High priorities of traditional policing involve Part I offenses such as homicide, rape, robbery and other violent crime. The traditional policing model preceded the advent of community oriented policing.

such as the use of deadly force. Command or administration level officers would only engage in dialogue with the community leaders in an attempt to mollify community members when they demanded police action and/or threatened legal action.

Neighborhood policing required a higher level of funding due to the costs associated with maintaining six team facilities. National economic conditions of 1981 created financial difficulties for Saint Paul that required reductions in all city departments. When faced with budget cuts, the police department chose to reduce the number of facilities, from six teams to two sectors, rather than reduce the number of personnel. Neighborhood policing survived the loss of team policing facilities by opening storefront offices, donated by the community, to maintain a presence in the neighborhoods. The police department expanded to three districts and eleven storefronts in early 1984 and remains in this configuration today.

D. THE ADVENT OF COMMUNITY – ORIENTED POLICING

In 1989, in an effort to further Saint Paul's community relationship building, the police department made the decision to implement community-oriented policing after examining the policing model used in Houston, Texas. The department obtained the services of the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) to train command level officers with the intention of instituting community policing in Saint Paul. Developing and integrating a community-policing model consistent with Saint Paul's vision of the neighborhood team-policing concept moved slowly until 1992, when William K. Finney was appointed Chief of Police. An African-American raised in the Rondo neighborhood, Finney was a firm believer in community policing and accelerated the department's immersion into the community-policing model practiced today in Saint Paul, Minnesota.

Community outreach is one of the priorities of community policing in Saint Paul. All employees, non-sworn and sworn, are obligated to do what they can to create positive relationships with the community regardless of their assignment. Numerous relationships with the community at large have developed over time, with the community playing a role in guiding the direction of the police department. Community involvement begins in shaping the recruitment process of police officer candidates. The Saint Paul Police

Department re-designed the hiring process based on research conducted by Dr. Dennis Conroy, aimed at preventing racially based-policing. Funded by a grant provided by the U. S. Department of Justice-Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, the research was part of the Promoting Cooperative Strategies to Reduce Racial Profiling Initiative. The police department collaborated with the community to design a character-based hiring model predicated upon the community's expectation of character traits thought desirable in the police officers serving their community. The police department now selects candidates based on the fifteen character traits determined valuable by the community.⁴⁵ The police department also involves community members in the sworn officer hiring process through participation in the oral board examination of police officer candidates.

Community groups are involved in the strategic planning process and their input is most valuable in deciding departmental priorities for allocation of resources. Community members also have input on current topics of concern during the Chief's advisory group meetings, held on a regular basis with the Office of the Chief of Police. Held bi-weekly, the Chief's advisory group meetings include stakeholders from citizens groups, special interest groups, and public and private partnerships. Another avenue for open access to the police department is available through a network of District Council community groups whose involvement is critical to the success of community policing in Saint Paul.

The City of Saint Paul has seventeen District Councils that support 1,200 block clubs that meet on a regular basis to discuss issues in their specific block club area. Police officers attend the meetings to share and receive information about the concerns or accomplishments the block club members bring to the meetings. This network allows the police department to collaborate with many of the people they serve and access information at a level of detail that enhances public safety from a prevention standpoint, as opposed to operating in a reactionary mode of policing.

⁴⁵ Dennis Conroy and MaCherie Placide, "Prevention of Racially Based Policing: Accountability and Supervision," *U.S. Department of Justice Research on Cooperative Strategies to Reduce Racial Profiling* City of Saint Paul Minnesota Police Department, Saint Paul, Minnesota. Unpublished United States Department of Justice – Community Oriented Policing Services Grant # 2001-HS-WX-K046 (December 31, 2002).

E. FACTS AND CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE NAACP AGREEMENT

Even with the high level of relationship building and implementation of community policing, the issue of racial profiling came to a head in Saint Paul. Nationally, the issue of racial profiling received attention in 1999 after reports of alleged racially biased actions by the New Jersey State Police surfaced in the mainstream media. The consequences of those actions included the termination of the Superintendent of the State Police Carl Williams and the institution of a federal consent decree in the State of New Jersey. A national debate occurred among law enforcement agencies, federal and state legislators, and civil rights/civil liberties groups about the reality of racial profiling. The concerns included the impact of racial profiling on individuals and communities of color and methods to measure the presence and extent of racial profiling actions within law enforcement agencies. Another issue involved determining viable methods to prevent law enforcement agencies from utilizing techniques based on the use of racial profiles. Of concern to any police department is the potential for adverse legal action against an agency accused of utilizing racial profiling techniques that could result in civil lawsuits, federal consent decrees, and legislative mandates.

As was the case at the national level, the State of Minnesota and the City of Saint Paul were actively involved in discussions regarding racial profiling, yet the two government entities experienced completely different outcomes. In April of 2000, the state legislative session ended with prominent members of the executive and legislative branches of government, and many chief law enforcement executives throughout the state, publicly stating that racial profiling was not a problem in Minnesota. The communities of color, civil rights advocates, and civil liberty organizations did not agree

with this determination.⁴⁶ No forum existed for resolution of the disparate viewpoints and many law enforcement agencies believed the public denial would be the end of the concern of racial profiling in the State of Minnesota.

The Saint Paul Minnesota Police Department, under the leadership of then Chief of Police William K. Finney, decided to take action to allay community concerns that the police department did not have a clear policy regarding racial profiling. One of the actions taken by the department was to examine the existing policy to clarify the long-standing position of the department with regard to bias-based policing. Additional concerns addressed by Chief Finney included establishing a method to measure traffic stop data, which is considered a barometer for activity indicative of racial profiling behavior. The policy statement regarding bias-based profiling is contained in the Saint Paul Police Training Bulletin 2000-3 and in the police department's policy manual, which states in part:

This policy is intended to address biased-based profiling in general, and racial-based profiling specifically. Profiling of this type is an issue with communities and law enforcement agencies across the nation, and has been specifically prohibited by Saint Paul Police Department Policy and General Orders since July 1996. The practice of unlawful profiling is based on stereotypical characteristics of persons or groups that some officers believe may have a propensity to engage in criminal activity. Profiling has been identified as the stopping of motorists, the detentions of a person, the search of a person or vehicle based solely on the individual's race, color, creed, religion, national origin, sex, and marital status, status with regard to public assistance, disability, sexual orientation, or age. Bias-based profiling is illegal and inconsistent with the core values of the Saint Paul Police Department.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Minnesota Public Safety Commissioner Charles Weaver and State Representative Rich Stanek publicly stated in March of 2000 that racial profiling does not exist in the State of Minnesota. Saint Paul Police Department began collecting traffic stop data in April of 2000. The Minnesota State Legislature reconsidered their position and eventually passed a voluntary traffic stop data-collection statute in 2001. The Minnesota Civil Liberties Union and the Saint Paul NAACP petitioned the ACLU to join in the call for traffic stop data collection. See American Civil Liberties Union, "ACLU Urges Minnesota Governor to Order Racial Data Collection for Police Stops" (American Civil Liberties Union). <http://www.aclu.org/RacialEquality/RacialEquality.cfm?ID=7873&c=133> (accessed July 8, 2005).

⁴⁷ Dennis L. Jensen, *Saint Paul, Minnesota Police Department Training Bulletin*, Vol. 00-3 (Saint Paul, Minnesota: City of Saint Paul Police Department, 2000). The policy statement is also contained in the police department General Order 230.13 – Conduct Unbecoming a Peace Officer.

The police department also established procedures for measuring factors associated with racial profiling by initiating the collection of traffic stop demographic data to analyze the relationship between the number of traffic stops and the search of individuals, or their vehicles, compared to race and gender categories. Data collection was initiated on April 15, 2000, and collection continues to the present. Preliminary results of the data collection effort were released in January 2001 and the police department asked the University of Minnesota Law School's Institute on Race and Poverty to analyze the traffic stop data collected by the department between April 15 and December 15, 2000.⁴⁸ The Institute on Race and Poverty published a report in which the summary conclusions indicate that African-Americans and Hispanics were stopped and their persons and/or vehicles searched at a rate significantly higher than whites were.⁴⁹

Saint Paul was the first police department in the State of Minnesota to collect traffic stop data on a voluntary basis. Serious debate occurred within city government, the police department, and between Minnesota law enforcement agencies questioning the wisdom and impact of Saint Paul's decision to collect the data. The decision by Saint Paul Police to collect racial profiling data, seen as controversial by most in the law enforcement community and potentially troublesome for the political forces in the city, was not out of character for the police department when viewed in light of the department's history of dedication to community building over the past decade. The police department was willing to address racial profiling issues in the public forum and strive to make necessary changes to reduce bias-based policing. Further exacerbating the concerns expressed by collaterally involved parties, including the office of the mayor, was the department's decision to ask the University of Minnesota Institute on Race and Poverty to analyze the traffic stop data and publish their findings in the report mentioned above.

⁴⁸ Regents of the University of Minnesota, Institute on Race and Poverty (University of Minnesota). <http://www.irpumn.org/website/> (accessed October 15, 2005). Dr. John Powell was the founder and director of the Institute on Race and Poverty at the University of Minnesota although he is currently the executive director of the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at Ohio State University. Dr. Powell has also served as the National Legal Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

⁴⁹ Institute on Race and Poverty, "Report on Traffic Stop Data Collected by the Saint Paul Police Department April 15 through December 15, 2000" (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Law School, 2001). <http://www1.umn.edu/irp/SPPD0522.pdf>; <http://www.irpumn.org/website/> (accessed October 15, 2005).

The Saint Paul NAACP decided to use the published report by the Institute on Race and Poverty to convince the Community Relations Service of the U. S. Department of Justice to assist in an effort to mediate concerns between the African-American community and the Saint Paul Police Department. The Saint Paul Police Department's leadership viewed the voluntary mediation as a necessary step for improving relations with the African-American community. The department made the decision to engage in the voluntary process without prior knowledge of the NAACP's discussion with the U. S. Department of Justice regarding the option of seeking a consent decree.

In 2001, the police administration and the executive board of the Saint Paul Chapter of the NAACP met and discussed measures designed to address racial profiling and police community relations in general. The meetings occurred between March 19 and June 19, 2001, and included Kenith Bergeron, assigned as the mediator from the Community Relations Service of the U. S. Department of Justice. The measures agreed to were contained in four basic categories: 1) taking steps to ensure racial profiling does not occur; 2) expanding the jurisdiction and improving the effectiveness of the Saint Paul Police Civilian Internal Affairs Review Commission; 3) improving police relations in the communities of color; and 4) improving the police department's community relations in general.⁵⁰

The formal agreement is an eight-page document that specifies fifteen remedial measures in which the police department agreed either to change existing policy or to initiate new policies to address specific bias-based policing concerns, or to improve the quality of police community relationships to enhance communication and trust. Important changes in police practices included enhancing the police department's early warning system to include behavioral factors associated with racial profiling and establishing joint NAACP-Saint Paul Police recruitment efforts.⁵¹ The department agreed to create a "consent search" advisory that informs an individual they have the right to refuse consent and to ensure an individual's consent is an informed consent. Also

⁵⁰ City of Saint Paul, MN Police Department, "NAACP Agreement" (City of Saint Paul, Minnesota). <http://www.stpaul.gov/depts/police/agreement.pdf> (accessed June 13, 2005).

⁵¹ An Early Warning System is a data driven system designed to enhance agency accountability by identifying employees exhibiting symptoms of job stress. An employee triggers the system by exceeding a predetermined threshold of selected behavioral indicators such as excessive sick leave. The program alerts management to examine the circumstances triggering the notification.

included in the agreement was the establishment of a complaint intake process that designates community advocate groups as access points for receiving complaints against police officers. The department further agreed to hold regular forums, conducted across the city, designed to continue the dialogue and education between the police and the community.

As a participating partner, the NAACP agreed to three remedial measures designed to establish a partnership relationship with the police department. The NAACP, the Saint Paul Urban League, and the Saint Paul Human Right's Department agreed not to comment on or release any information related to allegations of police misconduct until the matter was investigated by the police department and reviewed by the Saint Paul Police Civilian Internal Affairs Review Commission. Secondly, the NAACP agreed to participate in educating the community relative to police policy and procedure. Lastly, the NAACP would develop and provide community-police relations training to the Saint Paul Police Civilian Internal Affairs Review Commission and the police officers, from the perspective of the community.

The NAACP Agreement served the community and the police department well by elevating the level of cooperation and lowering the tension between the entities. One particularly tragic event that seriously challenged the partnership between the NAACP and the Saint Paul police department occurred within six months after completion of the agreement. During December 2001, an individual seriously injured three people in a series of drug related shootings occurring during one hour within a six square block area. Shortly after the shootings, an officer responded to a report of an armed carjacking in progress, apparently involving the same offender wanted in the previous shootings. When the officer arrived, he observed two African-American men of similar description struggling over control of a handgun. The officer ordered the subject in possession of the handgun at the time to drop the weapon. Residents were providing information (regarding which of the two men fighting was the carjacking offender) to the police communication center during the confrontation, but attempts to relay the information to the officer on scene were unsuccessful. The officer on scene reported that the subject in possession of the handgun set the weapon down on a refuse dumpster then picked the weapon up again, but this time, according to the officer, he pointed the weapon at the

police officer. The officer fired his shotgun killing the subject with the handgun and inflicting a non-lethal gunshot to the second subject. The individual killed by the officer was Charles Craighead who was determined after the fact to be the victim of the armed carjacking. The officer intentionally used deadly force on the victim believing he was the offender because of the threat posed when the victim pointed the handgun at the officer.

After the shooting, community members angrily demanded the officer be charged criminally because a white police officer had killed an innocent African-American man. One can easily understand the community's outrage due to the circumstances, emotion, and history of police killings of African-American individuals. The community generally lacked the information necessary to form an accurate understanding of the facts on which to base a decision. Initial statements made by Craighead's wife to the police during the investigation differed greatly from the statements she made later and publicly. Her actions exacerbated the situation in the community.

The NAACP abided by the agreement signed in 2000, maintaining an impartial stance in response to the community's demand that the officer be subject to criminal sanctions before the investigation could be completed. President of the NAACP Nathaniel Khaliq chose a course of action for his organization that included calling for calm and admonishing people to await the results of the investigation before making public statements condemning the actions of the police department and the officer. Communication between the leadership of the NAACP and the police department continued during the volatile period following the killing and kept the NAACP informed of the information developed during the investigation. NAACP members were also pivotal in convincing reluctant witnesses to cooperate with the police department.

Following completion of the department investigation and grand jury proceedings, the NAACP requested the FBI to conduct an independent review of the incident to ensure the impartiality of the criminal investigation. The investigations by the police department, the grand jury, and the FBI all found that the officer did not commit a crime, nor did he intentionally violate Mr. Craighead's civil rights. The City of Saint Paul did settle a wrongful death suit in federal civil court resulting in monetary damages of \$275,000.

This story demonstrates the benefits of building strong relationships, based on mutual respect and trust, with the community an agency serves, to enhance public safety and to form a partnership that is able to survive a catastrophic incident. The relationship between the Saint Paul Police Department and the NAACP, as well as the relationship with the community, survived a potentially devastating event due to the stakeholders' commitment to the agreement.

F. FACTORS INFLUENCING THE NAACP AGREEMENT

In Chapter I, the author selected six factors, based on direct observation and supporting research, that influence the building of a police-community relationship and the process of community outreach. Analysis of the six factors is included as part of the comparative case study examination, later in this thesis, in relation to the Muslim community outreach process. The six factors are examined here as they relate to the relationship between the Saint Paul NAACP, the African-American community, and the police department. The six factors include community leadership, police leadership, mediation, community culture and language, police culture, and individual community concerns.

1. Community Leadership

African-American leadership in Saint Paul is strong and cohesive, with a majority of the leaders involved with community and advocacy groups possessing a measure of permanency and stability in their positions. These high profile, well-respected community and advocacy groups include the Saint Paul Chapter of the NAACP, the Saint Paul Urban League, Minnesota Civil Liberties Union, and a large coalition of churches and religious leaders who comprise the African-American Leadership Council. The President of the NAACP, Nathaniel Khaliq, initiated the process that eventually led to the agreement between the police department and the NAACP on behalf of the African-American community. Khaliq, as the president of the NAACP, chose to pursue a voluntary mediated agreement rather than seek redress in the form of a consent decree through the federal court system.

The Saint Paul NAACP has been the premier voice of the community for over seventy years and is the primary point of contact with the police department as a community advocacy group. Nathaniel Abdul Khaliq is the President of the Saint Paul NAACP and has been involved with the NAACP and the Saint Paul Urban League for approximately forty years. Khaliq was born and raised in Saint Paul and, at the age of sixty-two, is the cornerstone of the civil rights advocacy groups in the greater Saint Paul Metropolitan area. Khaliq provided a wealth of information during an interview that addressed the history, leadership, relationship, community outreach, the NAACP Agreement, and the long-term survivability of the agreement.⁵²

Khaliq recalls recognizing the tension between the community and the police department at a young age, when the police were viewed as an occupying army. People in the community would only call the police in a dire emergency because of officer insensitivity and the community's lack of trust in the police department. Positive police-community relationships did not exist before individual relationships began to develop in the late 1960s. Khaliq cited four well-meaning individual officers known for their efforts to build relationships with community members. Soon after these relationships were established, individuals within the community would call the select officers they trusted to provide information about serious offenders in the neighborhood. According to Khaliq, the community providing information to the police department, about people in the neighborhood committing violent crimes, was unheard of before this time.

Individual relationships continued to serve as the bridge between the community and the police department until William McCutcheon (Chief of Police 1979-1992) became chief of police. Khaliq describes McCutcheon as a "rascal," but perceptive enough to understand the department required, at the very least, communication with the community. McCutcheon allowed precinct captains to move beyond individual relationships and cultivate relationships between the community groups and the police department. The movement toward partnerships between the community and the police department did not begin in earnest until William K. Finney (Chief of Police 1992-2004) became chief of police.

⁵² Nathaniel Abdul Khaliq, interview with Dennis L. Jensen on July 8, 2005. (Author's Interview Files, Saint Paul, Minnesota).

According to Khaliq, Finney placed a high priority on community and community policing and he brought characteristics to the office of the Chief never experienced before. Finney is an African-American who was born and raised in Saint Paul in the same neighborhood as Khaliq. Finney knew Khaliq for most of his life and it is common knowledge that trust is a history dependent phenomenon. Due to his personal background, Finney possessed a higher degree of emotional understanding of the effects of racism and bias-based policing than had previous police chiefs. Khaliq believes that Finney's move to collect traffic stop data in 2000 was a signal that the department was examining the racial profiling issue from a proactive standpoint and not just reacting because the NAACP was "raising hell."

The NAACP felt enough race-based issues existed to pursue intervention by the U.S. Department of Justice. These issues included strip searches, high incident rates of arrest of African-Americans for drug crimes, and racial profiling of people in motor vehicles, bus terminals, train depots, and airports. The NAACP decided to act when the Minnesota State Legislature declared racial profiling did not exist in Minnesota. Khaliq contacted Chief Finney instead of filing suit in U.S. District Court. He presented him with an option to consent decree litigation by offering mediation under the auspices of the U. S. Department of Justice Community Relations Service. Khaliq indicates that he justified mediation instead of litigation to the National Executive Board of the NAACP based on the relationship with the police department being better than it had ever been; he wanted to build on that level of trust and communication. Khaliq and Finney agreed to participate in a mediated agreement process, publicly calling for unity and support for the effort to reduce racial profiling and bias-based policing.

The meetings resulted in the 2001 NAACP Agreement aimed at reducing racial profiling and bias-based policing practices. Khaliq said this process was the only way to let the police officers "know how much the black community was hurting" and, secondly, to force a partnership with the police department because "that is how the system was designed to exist."

2. Police Department Leadership

The second factor for examination involves the leadership of the police department under Chief Finney at the time of the agreement with the NAACP. Appointed Saint Paul chief of police in 1992, William K. Finney served in that capacity until 2004. Born and raised in Saint Paul, Finney became a Saint Paul police officer in 1971 and served several terms on the Saint Paul Public School Board of Education. Finney set the tone for the department in his core value statement: “Reflective of and Responsive to the Community We Serve.” Finney provided information during an interview that addressed personal history, leadership, relationship and community outreach, the NAACP Agreement, and the long-term survivability of the agreement.⁵³

Finney has been a member of the NAACP since childhood and believes the organization works diligently to make life better for African-Americans. Finney believes, as does Nathaniel Khaliq, that the NAACP and the police department should be in a partnership to improve the department and community by working together, instead of being at odds over specific issues. Finney wanted to be the chief of police from the time he joined the department, believing he could improve minority representation and thereby enhance the police department’s ability to work effectively with all of the diverse communities in the City of Saint Paul.

Finney professes a viewpoint, based on his experience prior to becoming a law enforcement officer in Saint Paul and somewhat thereafter, that police departments are structured to police certain communities and to serve other communities. Traditionally, police departments have “served” affluent communities, which are most often white, and “policed” poor communities, which are most often communities of color. During Finney’s tenure as chief, he reinforced that the Saint Paul Police Department should “police” those that break the law and “serve” all of the communities within the department’s jurisdiction.

⁵³ William Kelso Finney, in interview with Dennis L. Jensen on April 11, 2005. (Author’s Interview Files, Saint Paul, Minnesota).

Finney's philosophy of building strong community relationships includes working toward opening lines of communication with the communities that are within a specific jurisdiction. He believes that communication is imperative because it is not a matter of whether there will be an incident between a police officer and a community member but, rather, simply a matter of when this will occur and how inflammatory the circumstances associated with the incident will be. If the community and the police department's relationship are to survive the incident intact, then the survival will require existing lines of communication or, better yet, an established partnership to facilitate resolution of the issue. Lacking a positive relationship, the incident can become explosive and disruptive, and a lack of confidence abounds in all areas, on both ends of the spectrum. Finney chose to involve all of the communities, with the police department, in the decision-making process through the creation of a Citizens' Advisory Council.

Finney decided to address racial profiling and bias-based policing when the issue surfaced as a national concern. He made changes in department policy and practices to identify and correct bias-based behavior by Saint Paul Police Officers. Finney developed a strong position against racial profiling before the NAACP came to him (approximately one year later) to propose a voluntary mediation process to formalize an agreement between the NAACP and the police department.

Finney believed that some members of the NAACP executive board simply did not want to negotiate with the police department. Rather, they wanted the federal courts to impose a consent decree on the police department mandating how the department conducted business and creating policy reflecting a particular viewpoint. He knew that this approach was neither necessary nor desirable for the police department or the community. Finney felt it was important to hear the concerns of the community, understanding there was some unrest and dissatisfaction with police services. He thought the department was doing a good job but learned that the NAACP's leadership and membership felt it was not doing the best it could do.

Finney indicated he agreed to participate in the mediation because he thought the action was the "right thing to do," even though he felt the probability was low that the NAACP could successfully litigate their claims in U. S. District Court. His own

philosophy of community policing demanded he participate in the process to gain greater support from all the communities. If the police department could gain a greater level of trust and respect, resulting in the assistance of the community in apprehending offenders, preventing crime, and solving problems, then choosing the mediation process was the obvious decision to make.

3. Mediation

The third factor involves the viability of mediation in negotiations about issues such as race relations. Choosing to use a mediator in negotiations of this nature was a productive decision. The relationship between the specific mediator and the level of success of the negotiations is not easily measured based on a single experience, but employing a mediator from the U. S. Department of Justice-Community Relations Services brought a sense of credibility and respect to the process. Some of the negotiations were contentious due to the nature of the issues. Racism, discrimination, and enforcement bias, resulting from department policies, practices, or actions of individual police officers, are the most serious accusations in relation to civil and human rights issues. Several of the accusations made by the NAACP, and the responses by the police department, were without documentation or foundation. The mediator required each party provide specific information in response to each accusation, enabling the respondent to research and produce a meaningful response.

The unresolved level of animus, built up over decades, surfaced during the meetings; without the mediator, the process may have ended abruptly in failure. Some of the accusations of specific illegal bias-based behavior were true and attributable to specific police officers already disciplined for their actions. The mediator, Kenith Bergeron, was an able facilitator who kept the discussions on point and held the participants of both organizations to ethical standards of behavior.

4. Community Culture and Language

The fourth factor involves some of the issues discussed during mediation, such as racial profiling and race relations, which have become part of daily African-American culture when interacting with police officers. The perception of bias-based policing generates anger and fear in some members of the African-American community. Racial profiling was one of the three areas addressed in the agreement, which included remedial measures to prevent bias-based policing from occurring.

5. Police Culture

Police culture is an extremely important factor, based on the author's twenty-three years experience with the police department and direct participation in the NAACP Agreement process. It became apparent that the successful relationship with the African-American community, and with the NAACP, began with the individual efforts of community members and police officers to form working relationships. Individual relationships are a prerequisite to building a viable community relationship. This is true of any individual community, regardless of the demographics or, in a larger sense, the community when defined as the entire city. (This statement is by no means an epiphany, but, rather, a reflection on the building blocks of community policing.) Sir Robert Peel, recognized as the founder of modern policing originating with the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 in London, England, set forth nine principles of policing, known as Peel's Principles. These principles establish a philosophy of policing now referred to as community policing. Peel's seventh principle states:

Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.⁵⁴

An examination of the relationships police officers cultivate in the community can lead to certain conclusions about the culture of the police department. Organizations with police officers who develop mutually supportive relationships between themselves and the people they serve will likely have a culture that will facilitate building agency

⁵⁴ Charles A. Reith, *Short History of the British Police* (London, England: Oxford University Press, 1948).

relationships with communities as a whole. Within police departments, veteran officers convey specific characteristics of organizational culture, and are emulated by younger officers their early years of employment. This culture both defines acceptable behavior and demands positive interaction with the community. As a result, “culture” is both a process and a product.⁵⁵ Organizational culture develops over time and becomes ingrained, defining the core values of the agency. Majorities of Saint Paul Police Officers begin and end their law enforcement careers working in a culture transferred over generations of employees. Police officer personalities may play as much of a role as the organization does for the success of building strong relationships with the community.

An additional cultural influence is the tenure of a chief of police. The police chiefs in Saint Paul, appointed from within the organization since 1866, generally serve between eight and twelve years. The length of service in Saint Paul differs from the national norm, which is a chief of police who serves at will and has no specific term of office. Under Saint Paul City Charter, police chief serves a six-year contract and cannot be removed but for cause. Notwithstanding the unusual length of service, police chiefs are temporal in relation to the life of the organization. They can influence the direction of the culture but cannot cause major changes in the longstanding culture. The culture of the organization is, therefore, more important than the other factors examined in this paper in its relationship to successful community building.

6. Community Concerns

The concerns of the African-American community involved racial profiling, consent searches, complaint intake and processing, and police support of the development of programs intended to address community-based crime prevention training directed at African-American youth. Community members also sought police endorsement of the African-American Leadership Council’s recommended candidate for appointment to the Saint Paul Police Civilian Internal Affairs Review Commission.

⁵⁵ Lee G. Bolman and Terrence E. Deal, *Reframing Organizations*, 243. The authors refer to Deal and Kennedy’s definition of culture as “The way we do things around here.”

The department agreed to specific remedial measures designed to end racial profiling and encourage enforcement based on behavior. Other measures included enhancing the early warning system to help identify officers demonstrating a propensity to engage in racial profiling, a promise to engage in aggressive minority recruitment, and continued dialogue with communities affected by racial profiling and bias-based policing practices.

One concession demanded by the NAACP required police officers to provide a consent search advisory whenever they would ask consent to search a person or a vehicle absent reasonable suspicion or probable cause. The advisory is similar to the Miranda warning used before a custodial interrogation, advising the subject they do not have to talk to the police and have the right to an attorney. Even though the consent search advisory would appear to restrict officers from consent searches, the actual impact is negligible. The department trains the officers to ask for consent to search only when they are able to articulate reasonable suspicion. Consent therefore is not necessary, but asking permission as a matter of course improves the transactional relationship between the officer and the individual subjected to the search.

None of the remedial measures agreed to by the police administration created a dilemma for the department and generally consisted of changes in policy and practices that would serve to improve the relationship with the community. The officers lamented the need to give a consent search advisory, fearing this would increase an individual's reluctance to allow a search. This concern has proven to have no effect on consent searches in field operations, as is the case in subjects usually being willing to participate in an interrogation following receipt of the Miranda warning.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ *Saint Paul Police Department Annual Crime Reports*. Years 2001 thru 2004 indicate negligible changes in arrests for narcotics or weapons offenses.

G. NAACP AGREEMENT SUSTAINABILITY

Until recently, the ability of the NAACP and the police department to sustain the agreement never appeared to be in question. In July 2004, the leadership of the Saint Paul Police Department changed with the appointment of John Harrington as chief of police, replacing retiring Chief Finney. During the transition, the department did not make a conscious effort to continue the open channel of communication with the NAACP necessary for maintaining the continuity of the agreement, which had been the responsibility of retiring Chief Finney. The consideration given to maintaining relationship when a change in leadership occurs in the organization is critical because of the influence leadership has in a police community-relationship. Previously, the NAACP Agreement survived several challenges and performed in a manner satisfactory to all of the stakeholders. However, in December 2004, an officer attempted to stop a motorist who refused to comply, and a scuffle ensued that resulted in the officer deploying a chemical irritant to end the confrontation. The driver was an eighty-five year old African-American man with a suspended license who physically resisted the officer in the performance of his legal duties. This incident is an example of the kind of inevitable inflammatory event referred to earlier by retired Chief Finney. The initial response by most people to this incident may be to question the arresting officer's decision-making process, considering the traffic stop was a minor traffic offense.

However, the internal investigation yielded several independent witnesses who attest to the driver as the aggressor and the officer as the defender in the confrontation. An outside police agency conducted an investigation that confirmed the internal findings and subsequently cleared the officer of wrongdoing. The FBI conducted a separate investigation as a civil rights violation but also cleared the officer of wrongdoing. Observers may still wonder whether enforcement of the offense was worth all the eventual angst. The Saint Paul Police administration would probably say they wished the incident had not happen and some things had been done differently; however, the subsequent investigations cleared the officer of any wrongdoing. In addition, the officer's recording of the audio portion of the transaction clearly supported the officer's

statement of what occurred. In an interview, Chief of Police John M. Harrington stated the right course of action was for the department to await the completion of the investigations, without implying the officer was right or wrong, then act accordingly once the investigations were complete.⁵⁷

However, after the incident, the NAACP violated the agreement by making public statements condemning the incident and demanding the officer's termination. The NAACP Agreement states the Saint Paul NAACP, Saint Paul Urban League, and Saint Paul Human Rights Department will not comment on nor release any information of police misconduct until the allegation has been reported to the police department and an investigation into the allegation has been resolved. Their public comment and demand for termination created a great deal of turmoil within the community that needlessly damaged the relationship.

Based on this incident, it would appear that a challenge to the sustainability of the NAACP Agreement occurred after a change in the leadership of the police department. Of consideration is the possibility that perhaps the NAACP Agreement was actually, at its core, an agreement between retired Chief Finney and NAACP President Khaliq that depended largely upon the existing level of trust between the two individuals and their relationship built over several decades.

The author conducted three interviews with the President of the NAACP Nathaniel Khaliq, retired Chief William Finney, and Chief John Harrington regarding the sustainability and future of the NAACP Agreement. Outlined below is the substance of those interviews, giving insight into the thoughts and beliefs of the major leaders of the NAACP, the African-American community, and the police department.

1. NAACP President Nathaniel Khaliq

NAACP President Nathaniel Khaliq stated that the spirit in which the agreement was reached is the most important part of the agreement, because one cannot document spirit and the agreement was meant to be a work in progress. His opinion is that the agreement is in trouble, but he is not ready to quit. A particularly poignant excerpt from the interview sums up his feelings:

⁵⁷ John Mark Harrington, in interview with Dennis L. Jensen on October 14, 2005 (Author's Interview Files, Saint Paul, Minnesota).

I do not know where the agreement is going to go. Our dream and hope for the agreement, and I think it should be for any agreement, is that it would outlive Chief Finney, Nathaniel Khaliq, Dennis Jensen, Robin McGee. It would be something that someone else would come behind and say “I think you need to make some changes here,” but this was the foundation that broke the barrier that existed for years. The wall between the police and the African-American community in Saint Paul came down, and the agreement was the piece that took the wall down. Right now, I am not feeling as comfortable as I was a year or two years ago. And I don’t know if it is going to be the next incident or a couple of more incidents where we may have to say that we need to walk away from this because it has become a mockery of the NAACP to continue to have it’s name on a document like this that really has no meaning. We have had unofficial discussions with the justice department as to what to we should do. We do not want to react on an emotional basis.⁵⁸

Khaliq also questions whether Chief John M. Harrington (Chief of Police 2004-present) is committed to the agreement and expressed concern about the reduced level of direct communication between the chief’s office and the NAACP.

2. Retired Chief of Police William K. Finney

Retired Chief William K. Finney stated he is greatly concerned about whether or not the agreement is going to survive. He indicated that his concern stems from what appears to be a lack of willingness by the police administration, and the other parties to the agreement, to communicate on important issues. Finney believes some of the executive board of the NAACP did not want to negotiate with the police department, preferring to ask the U.S. Department of Justice to intervene on their behalf. Finney believes those opposed to negotiation still wish to take a hard line and are urging a resurgence of the position that would advocate for the federal government to impose a consent decree on the City of Saint Paul.⁵⁹

3. Chief of Police John M. Harrington

Chief John M. Harrington stated, in an interview on October 14, 2005, that he believes the current prognosis for sustaining the NAACP Agreement is poor because there is a lack of common ground between the police department administration and the senior leadership of the NAACP. The relationship lacks commonalities in the values each hold for the community and the initiatives required to attain the strategic goals the

⁵⁸ Nathaniel Abdul Khaliq, in interview with Dennis L. Jensen on July 8, 2005.

⁵⁹ William Kelso Finney, in interview with Dennis L. Jensen on April 11, 2005.

police department is trying to achieve in the community. Police department strategic goals include reducing gang activity and violent crime in the neighborhoods. Other goals include addressing teen pregnancy, youth crime, and failures of the educational system. Achieving this goal will require active participation from community groups such as the NAACP and the Saint Paul Urban League. Parents, public schools, and churches must also play an active role in solving the problems facing the community today and many of these individuals and groups are coming forward to work in partnerships with the police department to address the issues. The NAACP appears comfortable in the traditional role of community advocate and police watchdog but is not willing to come forward as a partner in this endeavor.

Chief Harrington indicates that other organizations, such as the African American Leadership Council and the Black Minister Alliance, which is comprised of church leaders, community religious leaders, and community civic and business leaders, are willing to join in the effort and take an active role in police-community problem solving. Business leaders in Saint Paul, in partnership with the police, are actively working to develop employment opportunities for young people. Religious leaders are working hard with the police department to develop and implement gang intervention strategies designed to encourage young people, either to avoid joining gangs or to convince them to leave the gangs. These willing partners tend to lessen the department's dependence on the traditional community organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League, who wish to remain reactive and seem unwilling to publicly recognize or engage in community problems, which lessens their viability as partners in the community.⁶⁰

4. Prognosis for Agreement

All parties agree that the NAACP Agreement can survive the challenges; however, its survival will require resources and attention from both parties to sustain the spirit of the agreement identified by Nathaniel Khaliq as the most important part of the process. An alternative to abandoning the agreement and damaging the relationship with the NAACP may be to require delegation of an assistant chief of police as the primary

⁶⁰ John Mark Harrington, in interview with author.

point of contact for the NAACP representatives. This solution is only feasible if the NAACP agrees to the change in process. The NAACP may view this solution as unacceptable, perceiving the action as negatively affecting the importance of the organization.

The case study in this chapter explores the dynamics of building a strong relationship between local law enforcement and the African-American community. This examination will be useful in determining if these practices are applicable to a new immigrant community. The case study also documents how six influential factors affect the relationships, based on interviews with the principal leadership involved in the process. The examination reflects on the circumstances that may affect the long-term survivability and continuity of the relationship that is necessary to maintain a police-community partnership for the betterment of public safety and homeland security needs into the future.

The next chapter will document a case study of police-community outreach to an immigrant Muslim community and examine the same issues explored in this chapter in the context of a comparative case study. The comparison's goal is to produce best practices that will improve the likelihood of success for other agencies intending to develop relationships with immigrant communities in their jurisdictions.

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III. THE SAINT PAUL POLICE – MUSLIM COMMUNITY OUTREACH PROGRAM

This chapter presents a case study that examines the history of the immigrant Muslim communities and the relationship between the greater Muslim community and the Saint Paul Police Department. The study includes an assessment of the progression of the outreach to the community in terms of public health and the growth of police-community outreach intended to establish a strong relationship with the immigrant Muslim community.

The chapter also identifies the leaders within the individual Muslim communities and determines what issues are important to each community. Interviews with community advocates help to define the impact of the six factors selected as influential in the process of building strong relationships with the Muslim communities.

The study documents the process of outreach and relationship building from the initial contact to a functional yet developing relationship with the elder leadership within the individual Muslim communities. The author conducted focus groups surveys with the elders, designed to understand their perception of the police department and solicit suggestions for strengthening the relationship. The chapter also documents the police department's formation of a partnership with the Muslim American Society, a national and local Muslim advocate group, intended to extend outreach to a broader segment of the Muslim community.

The chapter contains an in-depth examination of the six factors that influenced the relationship and outcome of the outreach to date, for comparison to the case study in Chapter II involving the outreach to the African-American community. The chapter closes with a forecast for the future of the Muslim community outreach program based on the progress of the relationship with the police department to date.

The first concerted effort by the police department to build relationships with the greater Muslim community involved the formation of a task force created in June of 2004 to examine the issues associated with East African immigrants and their access to public services available in Saint Paul and throughout Ramsey County, Minnesota.

Development of the 2004 outreach was not the result of a responsive community-policing approach, nor was the outreach a conscious decision by the department to respond to a pattern of criminal activity in the Somali community, as was the case in the Hmong community in the late 1980s. The outreach began because several East African immigrants questioned the availability of public safety and public health services to the greater Muslim community in early 2004. The foreign born and second-generation Muslim population in the greater Saint Paul Metropolitan Area had reached an estimated 80,000 people before any significant outreach planning occurred.⁶¹

A. HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA

Foreign-born Muslim immigrants consisting primarily of Somali refugees began arriving in the greater Saint Paul Metropolitan Area in the early 1980s. Until 2004, interaction between the Muslim community and the Saint Paul Police Department was literally non-existent outside of police officers responding to individual calls for police service. The police department's failure to recognize the presence of the Muslim community is similar to the department's failure to connect with the Hmong population until a crisis occurred with Hmong juvenile gang violence.

Beginning in early 1983 a large number of immigrants from East Africa began settling in the greater Saint Paul Metropolitan Area. A majority of the East African population immigrated from Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Sudan. The population has expanded over the past twenty-two years and an accurate count of the population is difficult to estimate with any degree of certainty. Medical screening allows the Federal Office of Refugee Resettlement to alert the Minnesota State Health Department regarding the number of refugees arriving in Minnesota from outside the United States. Medical screening is required when the refugees arrive directly from their country of origin and

⁶¹ Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, "Community Dividend: Size of Twin Cities Muslim Community Difficult to Determine," *Community Development* no. 1 (2002): October 28, 2005, <http://minneapolisfed.org/pubs/cd/02-1/population.cfm> (accessed October 28, 2005). The population estimate provided by the Federal Reserve Bank is three years old and probably reflects a population smaller than the actual Muslim population in 2005.

allows for an accurate count of individuals resettling directly to Minnesota. Refugees arriving in other states who choose to relocate in Minnesota are not subject to screening and therefore absent from any government measurement of population estimates.

Somali immigrants comprise the largest Muslim population group in the greater Saint Paul Metropolitan Area. Minnesota is the home to the largest population of Somali people in the United States, according to research conducted by the Minneapolis Foundation.⁶² Based on information provided by the Minnesota State Demographer's Office, the Somali population in Minnesota, as of June 2004, was estimated at 25,000.⁶³ This number reflects the data collected by the Minnesota Department of Health and does not account for immigrants who do not resettle directly to Minnesota. Local Somali civic leaders place the population in the greater Saint Paul Metropolitan area at 70,000. This estimate is bolstered by a Wilder Research Center survey, which found that sixty-two percent of immigrant residents lived elsewhere in the United States prior to relocating to Minnesota and thus were not counted during the process of medical screening.⁶⁴ The estimated Immigrant population from the other three East African countries is 10,000 to 12,000.

The experience of the East African immigrants differs significantly from that of other established immigrant populations. One major difference involves a lack of experience within the community in preparing for their new lives in Minnesota. The immigrants lived in a part of the world that has suffered civil war, famine, natural disaster, and other catastrophic events, causing them to flee their countries of origin with little or no preparation. Normally, immigrants come to the United States by choice and have ample time to prepare for their transition to a new environment in a foreign land. Accelerated dislocation from their lives in East Africa, and the sometimes hurried

⁶² Minneapolis Foundation, *Immigration in Minnesota: Discovering Common Ground Africa - Focus on Somalis* (Minneapolis, MN: The Minneapolis Foundation, 2004).
<http://www.minneapolisfoundation.org/immigration/africa.htm> (accessed October 23, 2005).

⁶³ State of Minnesota Department of Administration, *Minnesota's Immigrant Populations Continue to Increase* (Saint Paul, MN: State of Minnesota, 2004).
<http://server.admin.state.mn.us/resource.html?Id=7193> (accessed October 24, 2005).

⁶⁴ Amherst H. Wilder Foundation, *Speaking for Themselves: A Survey of Hispanic, Hmong, Russian, and Somali Immigrants in Minneapolis-Saint Paul* (Saint Paul, MN: Wilder Research Center, 2000).
http://www.wilder.org/fileadmin/user_upload/research/immigrantsurvey11-2000.pdf (accessed October 24, 2005).

immigration to the United States, have created psychological issues within the immigrant population most commonly associated with a sense of fear, loss, and powerlessness. The psychological effect on these immigrants and refugees parallels symptoms associated with posttraumatic stress disorder.⁶⁵

East African immigrants, with few exceptions, enter the United States with few personal possessions or financial resources. The language, culture, and religion of the immigrants are vastly different from those found in their new home. Many of the recent immigrants have relatives already living in the greater Saint Paul Metropolitan Area. The immigrants tend to live in close proximity to one another. Some eventually occupy high-density housing and dominate the high-rise apartment structures such as Skyline Towers in Saint Paul. The Skyline Towers high-rise building accommodates approximately 2,400 people, mostly from Somalia. Other cluster populations occur in large apartment complexes comprised of ten to sixteen individual apartment buildings. The tendency for immigrants to choose to live within their own communities is understandable as a support mechanism; however, this decision also increases the level of isolation from mainstream culture experienced by the immigrants. As a result, the natural inclination of the refugee is to view governmental institutions, especially the police, with great trepidation and to avoid contact unless necessary.

B. EAST AFRICAN TASK FORCE RESEARCH

Early in 2004, several individuals who emigrated from East Africa approached staff members from the Ramsey County Humans Services Department and questioned the availability of county services for people in their community. The City of Saint Paul is located in Ramsey County and the county provides social services for the city. The East African immigrants experienced difficulty when seeking services from the agency due to language barriers. They spoke of the need for bi-lingual employees and requested the

⁶⁵ Charles Kemp and Lance Rasbridge, "Refugee Health~Immigrant Health: Mental Health" (Baylor University). http://www3.baylor.edu/~Charles_Kemp/refugee_mental_health.htm (accessed October 25, 2005).

agency provide interpretive services in the near term to assist with receiving and processing requests from the community. Also important to the immigrants was development of a community service center where they could feel less isolated from the mainstream community.

A task force consisting of approximately 250 community members, Ramsey County Human Services, Saint Paul Police Department, Saint Paul-Ramsey County Public Health, Saint Paul Public Schools, and many other entities, was formed to assess the community's needs. Abdullahi Hassan led the Ramsey County East African Task Force through ten public meetings held at the Skyline Towers community room over a four-month period ending in October 2004. Employed by the Easter Seals organization as a community advocate for the East African immigrant community, Hassan is also a member of the Saint Paul Police Chief's Advisory Committee. Part of assessing the community's needs entailed developing a community profile of the largest segments of the East African community members.

Profiles containing an examination of language, culture, and religion, were developed for the Somali, Ethiopian, Ethiopian-Oromo, Eritrean, and Sudanese immigrant communities. The profiles found that the communities speak many different languages; an even greater number of tribal languages are in use. The religion is predominantly Muslim, but a percentage of the population is Christian. Many of the East African immigrants experienced war, government oppression, imprisonment, and torture in their countries of origin. The communities themselves are generally homogeneous, yet segregated by country of origin as predetermined by earlier immigrants' choice of relocation within the city and county. Geographically dispersed cluster populations located in low-income, high-density housing areas, based on national origin, are common in the City of Saint Paul.

The task force determined nine critical issues facing the East African community, based on the circumstances described by the immigrant community participants: intergenerational stress, education, employment, medical care, bi-lingual support, childcare, housing, transportation, and group isolation. The task force developed recommendations arising from the outreach and designed to help alleviate the difficulties experienced by the East African community.

The recommendations included the development of an African Community Center, creation of a Saint Paul-Ramsey County Office of Multi-Cultural Affairs, and continuing education of city and county staff relating to East African cultures. Other recommendations included providing community education regarding available services, hiring bi-lingual and bi-cultural employees and interim interpreter services, and assisting the East African population with development of community projects. One of the most important recommendations involves using East African community non-profit organizations to provide bilingual and bicultural services to the community.⁶⁶

Funding for one of the recommendations, included in the county human services budget for fiscal year 2005, addresses the language barriers between the community and governmental services. The Saint Paul Police Department determined the primary challenge to creating a working relationship with the general Muslim community is the language barrier and is developing of a cadre of interpreters to assist with outreach efforts to the community.

C. MUSLIM COMMUNITY ADVOCATES' PERSPECTIVE ON OUTREACH

The author sought advice from Abdullahi Hassan and Garat Ibrahim. Both are community advocates respected by the Muslim immigrant community. The interviews conducted with each advocate build on the information developed by the Ramsey County East African Task Force during the group's research.⁶⁷ Both advocates are in positions of responsibility, with experience in public and private sector employment.

⁶⁶ Ramsey County East African Task Force, "Ramsey County East African Task Force Report and Recommendations," *Internal Community Outreach Report* (Ramsey County East African Task Force: Saint Paul, Minnesota, May, 2005).

⁶⁷ Ibid.

1. Abdullahi Hassan

Abdullahi Hassan immigrated to Minnesota from Sudan in 1975. At that time, he estimated the immigrant Muslim population in Saint Paul as consisting of eighteen to twenty individuals. His language skills have been the driving force behind his initial involvement with Muslim community affairs since his arrival. The Minnesota Goodwill-Easter Seals organization currently employs Abdullahi Hassan in training and job development. He also worked for the Ramsey County Human Services-Child Protection Services for a number of years, shortly after arriving in Minnesota. Hassan is a member of the Saint Paul Police Department's Chief's Advisory Council, where past and present police chiefs deem his advice on Muslim community affairs invaluable. Hassan provides a unique perspective based on his history and thirty years of experience with the Muslim immigrant community. He provided advice to the police about outreach to the Muslim community during an interview that addressed leadership, language, relationship building, culture, and cultural competency.⁶⁸

a. Leadership

Hassan indicates that the immigrant Muslim community is dispersed throughout the greater Saint Paul metropolitan area, with a population estimated in excess of 100,000 people. Immigrants tend to group together and are commonly located in low-income areas, with each group forming its own isolated community. Each community has "elders" that assume the leadership role within the community and they generally do not interact with other Muslim community leaders.

Three other positions of leadership and influence include Imams, Caliphs, and Mullahs. Imams are males over eighteen years of age who are leaders of prayer. Caliphs are religious leaders with political associations; Mullahs are religious leaders who are also scholars trained in the doctrine and law of Islam. An elder in the community may be an Imam, a Caliph, or a Mullah. Caliphs and Mullahs are rare in the United States and Hassan does not believe any of these leaders live in Minnesota.

⁶⁸ Abdullahi Hassan, in interview with Dennis L. Jensen on September 8, 2005 (Author's Interview Files, Saint Paul, Minnesota).

b. Language

Hassan does not believe the language barrier is something that is going to be resolved in the near future, even with the use of interpreters. Hassan indicated that even within a country such as Somalia, there might be as many as one hundred different tribal dialects compounding the language barrier. He suggests the issue may take ten years to resolve and, in the meantime, we should continue to use interpreters, but with the understanding that they need to interpret exactly what the involved parties say. Hassan said he witnessed inexperienced interpreters demonstrate a tendency to add their own nuances to a statement or response if they believe the person for whom they are interpreting may not have understood the question.

c. Relationship Building

Hassan describes honor and respect as the most important qualities in building a relationship with the immigrant Muslim communities. He believes the police department will have an excellent relationship with the community once a level of trust is established. If the elders of the community come to trust the police officers, then most of the community will also cooperate wholeheartedly with the department.

Honor and respect is critical in the religion of Islam and regaining the community trust is virtually impossible if one loses the trust of the community. The process of gaining the community's trust will take time, especially in light of the language barrier. Initially, the best method for building relationships with the community is to begin establishing individual relationships between community members and police officers. This is often easier and more meaningful than attempting to build relationships in a group setting.

Police officers intimidate many of the people in the Muslim community through the presence of uniforms. Understanding the immigrant psychology of fear is important for police officers involved in outreach: most immigrants assume a uniformed person is a member of the military. Hassan said this fear stems from experiences in their home countries where wars have raged for years. The people equate uniforms with oppressive military governments whose treatment caused them to flee their home

countries. Most countries in East Africa do not have police departments and so the uniform and weapons of police officers in the United States create a level of mistrust and fear. Hassan suggests police officers do not wear uniforms during the first few meetings, or until the people begin to feel comfortable with the police officers.

d. Culture and Cultural Competency

The Islamic religion is followed in many different countries and each country may have many separate cultures that can create minor difficulties for community outreach. Hassan said the language barrier outweighs the culture variables, if police officers apply common sense and are able to adapt to the circumstances driving an encounter. Achieving this kind of sensitivity requires training to reach a level of cultural competency common to most cultures at the most basic level – such as showing respect to elders and not touching the opposite sex.

2. Garat Ibrahim

Garat Ibrahim immigrated to Minnesota in 1996 at the age of fifteen. Ibrahim spent one year in a Kenyan refugee camp after his family fled from Jamaame, Somalia. After his arrival in Minnesota, he completed high school and obtained a bachelor's degree in sales and marketing from the University of Minnesota. The Lexington-Hamline Community Council employed Ibrahim for the past two years as a community organizer specializing in East African communities. The City of Saint Paul partially funds seventeen quasi-city organizations referred to as district councils, each having their own community council specifically involved with developing community partnerships. Ibrahim currently works at the Skyline Towers complex and is involved with the outreach process between the community and police department. Skyline Towers is home to approximately 2,400 Muslim immigrants. Ibrahim provided information during an interview about Muslim organizations, leadership, language and culture, and relationship building.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Garat Ibrahim, in interview with Dennis L. Jensen on September 23, 2005 (Author's Interview Files, Saint Paul, Minnesota).

a. *Muslim Organizations*

Ibrahim spoke of the Council on American-Islamic Relations and the Muslim American Society as two organizations that speak for the Muslim community in general and focus on issues facing Muslims living in the United States. The Council on American-Islamic Relations, a national organization with regional offices in twenty-nine locations throughout the United States, does not have an office in the Saint Paul-Minneapolis area. The Council on American-Islamic Relations serves as an advocate in issues of justice and civil rights for Muslims in the United States. The Muslim American Society is also a national organization, with offices located throughout the United States and including a chapter in Minnesota. The Muslim American Society at the national level focuses on religious, social, cultural, and educational issues within the Muslim community in the United States. The Minnesota Muslim American Society advances the national organization's policies, but works at the local level to promote understanding and cooperation between Muslims and non-Muslim people.

b. *Leadership*

Ibrahim insists leadership rests with a group of elders who live in each Muslim community. Imams are very important to the Muslim community from a religious perspective, but elders hold the leadership positions in everyday life. Elders are more like elder statesmen and, although they are not elected, they have gained the respect of the people living in the community. They assume the position of authority based primarily on their gender, longevity, and wisdom demonstrated over time. People in the Muslim community look to the elders for advice on resolving internal conflict, determining interaction outside their community, and making group decisions on behalf of people living in the Muslim community.

c. *Language and Culture*

Ibrahim firmly believes the language barrier will be the most significant challenge for the police department to overcome and could be a determining factor in the success or failure of any outreach to the Muslim community. Many different cultures exist in the Muslim community and police officers need to acquire a sense of culture specific to each individual community. If all officers receive enough training to reach a basic level of cultural competency, then the impact of cultural differences among Muslim

communities will become less of a consideration. Ibrahim asserts the primary effect of different cultures will remain an issue of language and communication due to the numerous tribal dialects associated with these different cultures.

d. Relationship Building

Ibrahim suggests outreach to the Muslim community should begin with individual interaction between members of the community and police officers. Building relationships with the elders in the community will require a respectful approach and should occur in a formal setting. Muslim community members would be suspicious of an informal approach until a certain level of trust is established with representatives of the police department. Building the foundation for a lasting trust with the Muslim community would require police-community interaction based on friendship and personal involvement, as part of the community is opposed to participation in the official police role of enforcing the law and maintaining order. Officers who play an active role in the Muslim community, demonstrating their intent to help and achieving positive results, will also build a fierce sense of loyalty with community.

D. INITIAL POLICE OUTREACH TO THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

One of the outcomes from the East African Task Force experience involved gaining a better understanding of the needs of the immigrant Muslim community in general. Further exploration of these needs led to an important finding during the initial outreach to the immigrant Muslim community: the fundamental challenge of working with this population is that the larger community will consist of many separate and diverse communities within the overall Muslim immigrant population.

Task force efforts largely involved gaining an overview of the community as a whole and conducting a needs assessment. The understanding gained, regarding the diversity of the communities, helped guide the planning for the police department's outreach to the Muslim community. Specifically, the department realized individualized efforts within multiple venues across the city would be necessary to conduct outreach on a broader scale. This is important information due to the considerable demand placed on the personnel and budget of any agency conducting strategic planning for outreach to a new immigrant Muslim community.

The Muslim community in the greater Saint Paul metropolitan area is dispersed throughout the region. The greater Muslim community consists of numerous small cluster populations that form individual concentrated Muslim communities. An example of the cluster population is the Skyline Towers residential complex, occupied exclusively by Muslims, with approximately 800 families living in the complex. These concentrated populations are self-determining and develop over time, as new Muslim immigrants choose to live near relatives or with people with whom they have religion and language in common. Economics also affect the occurrence of cluster populations, due to the financial disadvantages facing immigrants and in their inability to afford other than low-income housing.

Repeated throughout the metropolitan area, this set of circumstances is not an anomaly of the Muslim community, but rather a common occurrence observed with previous immigrant populations resettling in the Saint Paul area. The foreign-born individuals in each Muslim community are isolated because they generally do not interact with individuals in other Muslim communities. An exception to this involves younger immigrants and second-generation family members who have outside associations through educational, social, and employment venues. The fragmentation and isolation present in the greater Muslim community are factors that create impediments to a concerted outreach effort and will require additional time and resources to overcome.

Another consideration involves people born in the United States who have converted to Islam. Specifically, how does the police department effectively establish a relationship with this group of people? During an interview, the President of the Saint Paul NAACP, Nathaniel Khaliq, discussed the issue of separation that exists between African-American Muslim converts and immigrant Muslims.⁷⁰ Khaliq converted to Islam thirty years ago and believes that African-American and white Muslim converts do not generally associate with immigrant Muslims, even though they will routinely worship together at the same Mosque. Khaliq believes the African-American converts primarily identify with the African-American community and are therefore engaged in the outreach process through the existing channels of communication.

⁷⁰ Nathaniel Abdul Khaliq, interview with author.

The police department relied on information from community advocates and police officers' first hand knowledge to identify immigrant Muslim cluster populations in the city. The four largest individual communities in Saint Paul (listed in descending order and based on estimated populations) are the Skyline Towers, Afton View complex, Mount Airy housing, and McDonough housing areas. The police department selected the two largest Muslim communities for the initial police community outreach efforts, based on population density estimates, with the goal of reaching the largest number of people. The communities are the Skyline Towers located at Saint Anthony and Griggs, with a Muslim population of approximately 2,400 people, and the Afton View apartment complex located at Lower Afton and McKnight, with a Muslim population of approximately 1,000 people. Both sites house Somali immigrants and second-generation children born in the United States.

The strategic objectives developed prior to the initial outreach included evaluation and selection of interpreters, identification of the community leaders and establishment of a working relationship with those individuals, facilitation of meetings with the leaders and community to create a collaborative relationship with the community, and to understand and begin to address any specific issues identified by the community. A team of police managers, police officers, and community advocates familiar with the individual Muslim communities established the objectives.

1. Skyline Towers Outreach

Police department outreach to the Muslim community living in the Skyline Towers complex began in June 2005. Commanders in the districts and operations division officers worked with community organizer Garat Ibrahim to request introductions to the Muslim community elders at Skyline Towers. Ibrahim served as the point of contact and provided interpretive services for the initial individual meetings with the community elders and subsequent ongoing community meetings.

Leadership of the Skyline Towers Muslim community rests with twelve elders who are willing to engage in the outreach process. Initial meetings with the elders did not have a specific agenda other than to establish a level of personal contact and begin talking to each other. The formality of the meetings, and language barrier, lengthened the

amount of time spent together, but limited the actual interaction early in the process. The comfort level between the participants increased with time and eventually allowed for discussion about what issues are important to the Muslim community at Skyline Towers.

The elders of the Muslim community living at Skyline Towers indicated the residents are primarily concerned about the level of violence and gang activity, and fear their young people's exposure to drug activity. Skyline Towers is located in one of the four areas of the city that experience a higher violent crime rate due to the influence of drug distribution and gang activity localized in these neighborhoods. Many residents fear and avoid contact with the police because they do not understand the role of law enforcement in the United States. The elders believe this fear of police officers will be overcome with time and exposure to individual officers. Other concerns involve juvenile truancy and communication problems caused by the language barriers when Muslim immigrants call the police department. Overcoming the language barrier is important to the parents in the Muslim community because they do not trust their children to tell the truth when asked by responding police officers to describe the nature of the problem.

Police department representatives began expanding their contact with the Muslim community members with assistance of the elders encouraging people to attend bi-monthly open community meetings. The initial community gatherings consisted of police officers and community members familiarizing themselves with one another. Police department crime-prevention material was translated into the Somali language for distribution at all meetings. The most sought after material is a pamphlet that describes the 911 system for police, fire, and medical emergencies and explains how to access the language translation line to explain the nature of the problem.

Muslim community members attending the early meetings appeared apprehensive about engaging in the discussion, deferring the interaction to the elders. The elders attended all community meetings and, over time, the attendance expanded to 100 people who now actively engage in the discussion. Usually two or three of the younger Somali people attending the community meetings speak English and help with the discussions. The meetings have become less formal and many of the participants, police and residents, appear to enjoy the process, some having a little fun with each other in the exchange.

(During one meeting with the elders, following the completion of the focus group surveys, a conversation between the interpreter and several of the elders was interrupted by repeated laughter. According to the interpreter, Garat Ibrahim, the elders were offering to make the author of this thesis king of their community for the day because they were pleased with the relationship.)

The community members determine the topics for discussion at subsequent meetings, which on some occasions are similar to educational seminars. The topics discussed in community meetings have included issues of juvenile truancy, domestic assault laws, gang intervention, and recognizing drug use and distribution activity. District court judges and prosecutors have spoken at the community meetings, explaining their roles in the criminal justice system. The police department now staffs a small substation at the complex, in an office donated by the property managers, and the office has become a popular attraction for the children in the community. Meetings with the Muslim community elders continue on a monthly basis, but have occurred more frequently when a specific incident – such as a major criminal offense – occurs in the area, or a member of the Muslim community becomes the victim of a serious crime.

Six months have elapsed since the initiation of the community outreach program and during this short period, tangible progress has been made in building a relationship between the Muslim community and police department. Overall, the Skyline Towers Muslim community still views police officers with a sense of mistrust, although this is not as pervasive as has been the case historically. The outreach process, while still in the development stage, has already demonstrated an improvement in the communication and trust between the Muslim community and the police department. This is evidenced by the community coming forward with enough information to solve two violent crimes involving Somali youth gangs. Investigators were unable to gain this kind of community assistance prior to the outreach process.

One of the crimes involved the serious injury of two young men living at Skyline Towers. They were shot in June 2005 during an apparent gang-related feud between Somali youth in Saint Paul and Minneapolis. Police investigators were unable to gain the cooperation of the victims or witnesses to the crimes. Several witnesses, who previously

denied knowledge of the crimes, came forward with information in October 2005; that information eventually led to the arrest of three people believed responsible for the shootings. The witnesses decided to cooperate following a meeting in which the elders of the Muslim community agreed to help with the investigation.

On August 25, 2005, another incident occurred involving the murder of nineteen-year-old Mohamed Mohamed, a member of the Muslim community at Skyline Towers. Police investigators believe this murder was also a gang-related crime, and had reached an impasse in the criminal investigation. A member of the Minneapolis-based Somali Justice Advocacy Center, Omar Jamal, sought to blame the failure to attain a quick resolution to the murder on police department bias and discrimination toward Muslims. Jamal worked to convince members of the Muslim community at Skyline Towers to join him in a march on Saint Paul City Hall to protest the police department's interaction with the victim's relatives and failure to solve the crime. Local newspaper reporters were not in attendance, but did interview Jamal and reported that twenty family members participated in the march on city hall.⁷¹ Participants in a subsequent meeting with city officials reported that only three relatives of the victim accompanied Jamal to city hall. The other individuals with Jamal were reportedly staff members of the Somali Justice Advocacy Center.

According to community organizer Garat Ibrahim, the generally accepted belief in the Skyline Towers Muslim community is that Jamal's involvement in this matter is disingenuous and he is attempting to heighten his visibility as an advocate for Muslim rights to overcome his difficulties with immigration matters. Convicted of federal immigration violations in January 2005, Omar Jamal is now subject to deportation, which he claims is politically motivated.⁷² The elders of the Muslim community at Skyline

⁷¹ For newspaper accounts of the march on city hall see Emily Gurnon "Slain Man's Relatives Say Police Inattentive," *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, November 3, 2005. <http://www.twincities.com/mld/pioneerpress/news/local/13065816.htm> (accessed November 10, 2005). and Howie Padilla, "Relatives of Fatal Shooting Victim Demand Answers," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, November 3, 2005. <http://www.startribune.com/stories/462/5705525.html> (accessed November 10, 2005).

⁷² For more information on Omar Jamal and his activities see Dan Olson, "Somali Advocate Omar Jamal Arrested," *Minnesota Public Radio*, April 1, 2003, News and Features. http://news.minnesota.publicradio.org/features/2003/04/01_olsond_jamal/ (accessed October 22, 2005). For reports on Jamal's conviction, see Paul Demko, "Hope You Enjoyed Your Stay," *City Pages*, January 19, 2005. <http://www.citypages.com/databank/26/1259/article12860.asp> (accessed October 23, 2005).

Towers continue to work with the police department to solve the homicide. This willingness to work with the police department, rather than following Omar Jamal's advice, is due to the nascent level of trust attained thus far in the relationship.

Progress has been made in establishing a preliminary relationship with the Skyline Towers Muslim community, but any expectation of reaching the majority of the Muslim community will require a commitment from the police department to allocate the resources necessary to achieve their community outreach goals. Maintaining a successful relationship with the Skyline Towers Muslim community will require a higher level of dedicated resources and attention than is needed to maintain a relationship with the mainstream community. Future strategic planning for outreach should include efforts to increase social cohesion, to lessen the sense of isolation between the Muslim and mainstream community groups. Merging the community crime-prevention efforts of the Muslims with those of the mainstream district community councils and block clubs could prove fruitful in reducing community isolation.

2. Afton View Complex Outreach

Police department outreach to the Muslim community living in the Afton View apartment complex began in July 2005. Commanders in the districts and operations division officers worked with community organizer Abdullahi Ashnoor to request introductions to the Muslim community elders at Afton View. Ashnoor served as the point of contact and provided interpretive services for the initial individual meetings with the community elders and subsequent ongoing community meetings. Ashnoor is the manager of the Afton View apartment complex and assumes the role of a community advocate based on his language skills.

Leadership of the Afton View apartment complex involves six elders who engaged in the outreach process. Similarities existed between the initial contact with the Skyline Towers and Afton View Muslim communities. The initial meetings with the elders did not have a specific agenda other than to establish personal contact and to become familiar with one another. The language barrier issues experienced with the elders at Skyline Towers were less evident in the relationship with the Afton complex Muslim community elders. Consequently, a level of comfort was reached earlier in the outreach process with the elders at Afton View when compared to the time required with

the elders at Skyline. Police officers felt this was simply because more people spoke English and was not the result of any specific cultural differences between the two communities. Officers surmised Abdullahi Ashnoor's long-term involvement and familiarity with the elders probably had a positive impact on eventually reaching a higher level of trust. The elders of the Muslim community at Afton View are aware of the Muslim community at Skyline Towers but do not interact with them. Maintaining a successful relationship with the Afton View Muslim community will also require a higher level of resources than maintaining a relationship with a mainstream community.

Afton View is located in a low crime area of the city, where most of the criminal offenses involve property crimes such as theft and burglary. Elders of the Afton View Muslim community described their community's public safety concerns in terms of quality of life issues such as cultural conflicts with neighbors, broken apartment windows, thefts from autos, and general disorder caused by alcohol abuse. The parents in the Afton View Muslim community are concerned about alcohol and drug abuse in their neighborhood and the impact on their children's welfare. The Afton View Muslim community generally accepts the presence of police officers in their community. The level of acceptance is somewhat higher than that of the Skyline Towers Muslim community, who tend to view the police department with a less trust.

Police representatives hold bi-monthly meetings with the elders of the Afton View Muslim community and with the community at large. An unexpected outcome of the process came during recent meetings with the Afton View Muslim community members, when the group requested an increased presence of police patrols in their neighborhood. The Afton View Muslim community meetings have an average attendance of about forty people, five of whom usually speak English; this is a marked increase over the level of English speakers attending the Skyline Towers meetings. One possible explanation for this phenomenon, and for the higher level of community acceptance of police officers, could be that the Afton View Muslim community is located in a predominately affluent area. This tends to increase the level of community isolation. Afton View is also located in an area with a lower violent crime rate, which means community members probably see fewer police officers in an aggressive enforcement role.

3. Surveyed Focus Group Findings

The police department conducted a survey of the community elders in attendance at meetings held at Skyline Towers on November 29, 2005, and at Afton View on November 30, 2005, five months after the initiation of the outreach process at each of the two Muslim community locations. All of the elders present at the two meetings agreed to participate in the sample survey. Ten of the twelve elders were present at the Skyline Towers community meeting; five of the six elders were present at the Afton View community meeting. The author of this thesis and other police officers were present during the survey process.

Garat Ibrahim presented the survey, which was available in Somali and English. All of the elders requested the Somali language version. The first four questions of the survey asked about country of origin, confirmed their status as an elder in their respective communities, and asked their length of time in the United States and Minnesota. The survey also contained five statements and asked for a response that indicated the degree to which they either agreed or disagreed with the statement. A sixth statement offered four choices regarding what the respondents thought the police department should do to help the Muslim community. The respondents circled all that they believed applied to the situation.⁷³

a. Skyline Towers Survey Findings

Nine of the ten elders who responded to the survey have been in the United States and in Minnesota for the same length of time, which indicates they immigrated directly to Minnesota. One elder had been in the United States for one year longer than he had been in Minnesota. All of the elders came here from Somalia and have lived in Minnesota for a period spanning three months to ten years. Forty-percent (4) have lived in Minnesota for three to eighteen months, forty-percent (4) between three and five years, and twenty-percent (2) between eight and ten years. The following charts present the statistical analysis of the six research questions.

⁷³ Focused study surveys in English and Somali are available and maintained in author's files.

Question 5. I TRUST THE POLICE DEPARTMENT

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
60% (6)	40% (4)	-	-	-

Question 6. POLICE SERVE MY COMMUNITY WELL

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
80% (8)	20% (2)	-	-	-

Question 7. I FEEL ISOLATED FROM OTHER CULTURES IN THE CITY

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
10% (1)	20% (2)	10% (1)	50% (5)	10% (1)

Question 8. THE ROLE OF THE POLICE IS TO HELP ME AND MY COMMUNITY

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
90% (9)	10% (1)	-	-	-

Question 9. THE ROLE OF THE POLICE IN ST.PAUL IS TO ENFORCE THE LAWS

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
90% (9)	10% (1)	-	-	-

Question 10. THE POLICE DEPARTMENT CAN HELP MY COMMUNITY BY
DOING THE FOLLOWING – CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY

Learn Culture	Learn Language	Hire Somali Police Officers	Meeting With Community
7 of 10 Selected	6 of 10 Selected	5 of 10 Selected	0 of 10 Selected

b. Afton View Survey Findings

Five of the six elders from the Afton View Muslim community responded to the survey. Forty percent (2) elders had been in the United States for one year longer than they had lived in Minnesota. Sixty-percent (3) of the elders came here from Somalia and have lived in Minnesota for a period spanning eighteen months to five years. Ten percent (1) elder came from Kenya and has lived in Minnesota for one year. Ten percent (1) elder came from Ethiopia and has lived in Minnesota for five years. The following charts provide the statistical analysis of the six research questions.

Question 5. I TRUST THE POLICE DEPARTMENT

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
80% (4)	20% (1)	-	-	-

Question 6. POLICE SERVE MY COMMUNITY WELL

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
80% (4)	20% (1)	-	-	-

Question 7. I FEEL ISOLATED FROM OTHER CULTURES IN THE CITY

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
40% (2)	60% (3)	-	-	-

Question 8. THE ROLE OF THE POLICE IS TO HELP ME AND MY COMMUNITY

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
100% (5)	-	-	-	-

Question 9. THE ROLE OF THE POLICE IN ST.PAUL IS TO ENFORCE THE LAWS

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
100% (5)	-	-	-	-

Question 10. THE POLICE DEPARTMENT CAN HELP MY COMMUNITY BY
DOING THE FOLLOWING – CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY

Learn Culture	Learn Language	Hire Somali Police Officers	Meeting With Community
5 of 5 Selected	3 of 5 Selected	5 of 5 Selected	3 of 5 Selected

c. Comparison of Community Survey Findings

The focus groups findings support the differing levels of trust in the police department between the two communities, even though the population sample is very small. The survey also supports the assertion that the Afton View community feels more isolated than the Skyline Towers Community.

4. Muslim American Society – Minnesota Chapter Partnership

The Minnesota Muslim American Society describes their function as a charitable, religious, social, cultural, educational, and non-profit organization.⁷⁴ This national organization exists to promote understanding between Muslim and non-Muslim people and works to develop a sense of unity among Muslims and Muslim organizations. The Muslim American Society has a chapter in Minnesota that promotes national policy goals at the local level, encouraging cooperation and coordination.⁷⁵

The Saint Paul Police Department established a collaborative relationship with the Muslim American Society-Minnesota Chapter to help achieve the goals of the Muslim community outreach process. The Muslim American Society-Minnesota chapter is located in a suburb of Saint Paul and plays an active role in the Muslim community across the city. Hesham Hussein, director of the local chapter, welcomed the opportunity to work with the police department to reach goals viewed as common to both organizations.

The resources and expertise of the Muslim American Society have been integrated into the police department's long-term strategy to reach as large an audience as possible in the greater Muslim community. A partnership between the Muslim American Society and the police department began in October 2005, expanding dramatically in scope during December 2005, when an opportunity to obtain grant funding from the State of Minnesota became available to expand Muslim community outreach. The partnership expanded to include the domestic abuse advocacy group Saint Paul Intervention Project. The Saint Paul Police Department, Muslim American Society, and the Saint Paul Intervention Project submitted a grant application in December 2005, seeking funding for \$300,000 for forming problem-solving partnerships. The intended goal of the partnership is to cultivate and nurture a mutually beneficial relationship built on cultural competency, a shared understanding of the dynamics of domestic abuse within the Muslim community, and each partner's role in improving public safety and community livability.

⁷⁴ For additional information about the national Muslim American Society see Muslim American Society, "Muslim American Society," <http://www.masnet.org/> (accessed October 5, 2005).

⁷⁵ For additional information on the Minnesota chapter of the Muslim American Society see Muslim American Society - Minnesota Chapter, "Muslim American Society - Minnesota Chapter," available at <http://www.masmn.org/> (accessed October 5, 2005).

The broad scope of this partnership is to facilitate a dialogue (between the Saint Paul Muslim community and Saint Paul Police Officers) that will promote relationship building between the two groups, with the desired by-product of ongoing collaboration and issue identification regarding criminal justice system improvement and the Muslim community's quality of life.

E. FACTORS INFLUENCING THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY OUTREACH

In Chapter I, the author selected six factors based on direct observation and supporting research that are believed to influence the process of community outreach and building a police-community relationship and the process of community outreach. Analysis of the six factors is included as part of the comparative case study analysis, later in the thesis, in relation to the NAACP community outreach process. These six factors will now be examined as they relate to the relationship between the immigrant Muslim communities and the police department. The six factors include community leadership, police leadership, mediation, community culture and language, police culture, and individual community concerns.

1. Community Leadership

Religious leaders, such as Imams, have a strong influence on Muslims, but the leadership role in the individual Muslim communities rests with the elders. Some elders may also serve as Imams in a community, although this is not a prerequisite to their position in the community as an elder.

Each individual Muslim community has elders who lead the community. Elders from one community do not consult or communicate with other individual Muslim communities. Organizations such as the Muslim American Society are not empowered by the individual Muslim communities to represent the Muslim community as a whole. Consequently, one leadership body that can speak for the entire Muslim community does not exist in the same way as the leadership position the NAACP holds in the African-American community. Relationships must be built independently, with each group of elders, and police department outreach experience thus far indicates no two relationships may be the same, because each individual Muslim community may have different concerns.

2. Police Department Leadership

Saint Paul Police Chief John Harrington believes the police department must be responsive and reflective of all of the communities in the City of Saint Paul. Building relationships with all of the communities and stakeholders in the city is a philosophical imperative based on his commitment to community policing. Harrington values police-community collaboration and assigns oversight for community outreach at the administrative level, while demanding all employees work to build constructive relationships with the communities they serve.⁷⁶ Direct responsibility for managing community relations rests with the senior commanders in each of the city's three policing districts. Expanding outreach to develop relationships with the individual Muslim communities requires additional staffing due to the resource-intensive nature of the process.

To address the increased demand for staffing, Harrington instituted an examination of police officer obligated time to determine how resources might be redirected to fulfill outreach commitments. The subsequent study recommended diverting reporting of minor property crimes without solvability factors to an Internet-based reporting system. Currently, police officers respond in person to obtain the information necessary to document the offense. The reports are used to substantiate a loss when claiming an insurance reimbursement, absent solvability factors necessary for criminal investigative purposes. By developing an internet reporting capability, people can report minor crimes without having an officer physically respond to write the report. Strategic changes such as this may be necessary to leverage the resources needed to expand outreach efforts to a new immigrant community. The Internet reporting system, used in this manner alone, will create unobligated time equivalent to ten full-time police officer positions; time that will be redirected to community outreach efforts.

3. Mediation

Mediation is not necessary at this point in the police-community relationship due to the fragmentation of the Muslim community. The outreach process with the individual Muslim communities is less formal than that of the NAACP outreach. The relationship is in the formative stage and the community has not presented any specific issues or

⁷⁶ John Mark Harrington, interview with author.

grievances that would require mediation or formal agreement. The situation may change as the community matures and begins the process of acculturation. This may lead to broader leadership across individual communities as they become more cohesive and seek to form a leadership group similar to the NAACP.

4. Community Language and Culture

Leaders in the community, both public and private, recognize language barriers as the most challenging issue confronting outreach to the Muslim community. The language barrier is an issue that will affect the outreach process for the next decade, according to Abdullahi Hassan. Individuals in the Muslim community and the police department find the inability to converse directly, without the use of an interpreter, frustrating. As a direct consequence of the language difference, the process for developing a relationship with the Muslim community will be more lengthy than previously anticipated. In addition, there will be increased costs associated with interpretation and translation services.

Overcoming the language barrier requires the development of a cadre of individuals who are not only fluent in English and the primary language of the community, but also know the dialects associated with the various cultures present in the Muslim community as a whole. The police department employs contract interpreters during the early stages of outreach to the individual Muslim communities. Several members of the individual Muslim communities, who are able to assist with interpretation, have also come forward to volunteer as interpreters during the early stages of outreach meetings. Care must be exercised when selecting interpreters, especially when using members of the community, due to the potential for individuals to use the arrangement as a base of power within the individual Muslim community.

In addition to addressing the language issues, the police department has an obligation to ensure all police officers in the organization attain a functional threshold of cultural competency to prevent an incident, due to ignorance, that could negatively affect the relationship between the police department and the community. Officers engaged in the Muslim community outreach, as well as officers assigned to patrol duties in the Muslim communities, have received cultural competency training from community advisors. The police department is working with community members, advocates, and

the Muslim American Society to develop training related to ethnic, cultural, and religious norms and practices. All members of the department will receive this training during the Saint Paul Police Department's Spring 2006 in-service annual training.

5. Police Culture

Over 500 individuals from the Muslim community, living in Skyline Towers and Afton View apartments, participated in numerous outreach meetings as of December 2005. During the discussions, the police department learned many of the people either had encountered a Saint Paul police officer during their daily routine, or had been at gatherings held in their individual community when a police officer spoke to the group. Police department managers have attended all of the individual community outreach meetings at Skyline Towers and Afton View. The managers report that most of the people indicated their experience with the police was positive in nature, and questioned why the police department took so long to come to community meetings. The police department also learned that the level of contact varied, based on where the person lived. People who lived in the Afton View Muslim community recalled police officers being a part of their community for years, while those in the Mount Airy Muslim community rarely had contact with the police department before the formation of the East African Task Force.

While planning for expansion of the outreach effort, the police department administration examined what was learned through the East African Task Force project and the department's Muslim community outreach during the previous six months. One critical discovery was the absence of complaints against police officers alleging discrimination or bias-based profiling from the greater Muslim community. Conversely, an area of concern was the lack of contact in some of the individual Muslim communities, while another community received a high level of interaction. One explanation for the different levels of interaction relates to the ability of community members to speak English. Lack of a common language hinders interaction with the community during the normal course of business and is frustrating to both the community and the police department.

The language barrier has probably prevented some individuals from filing complaints against the police department, although the opportunity to lodge a complaint was available during the East African Task Force process. The lack of complaints against police officers is encouraging and indicative of the organizational culture of acceptance within the police department. The department's experience with the African-American and Hmong communities demonstrates a consistent pattern of police officers' willingness to develop individual and group relationships with the communities they serve. The culture that exists in the Saint Paul Police Department is likely to enhance the probability of a successful outcome from outreach to the greater Muslim community in the Saint Paul metropolitan area.

6. Community Concerns

The concerns expressed by the individual Muslim communities currently involved in the outreach process are different from the concerns of the African-American community. The African-American community is concerned about police brutality, racial profiling, and lack of opportunity for the youth in the community. The greater Muslim community seeks involvement with the police department, fears isolation, and is concerned about the language barrier interfering with their parental rights and preventing their involvement in American society. The greater Muslim community is also concerned about violations of their civil rights at the hands of the mainstream community, due to bias associated with Islamic terrorist activity. The following concerns were noted in comments made by community members during meetings of the individual Muslim communities at Skyline Towers and Afton View.

a. Public Safety

Elders and community members from the two individual Muslim communities currently involved in the outreach process expressed their concerns for the safety of their children and for their community. The people feel they have a civic responsibility to cooperate with the police and work together to solve the public safety issues in their communities.

b. Isolation

Community concerns regarding isolation from American society, and the loss of opportunity for growth and education for their children, appears to compete with the fear of outside interference with their community's religious and cultural beliefs and ethnic identity.

c. Language Barrier

The language barrier also affects their ability to address family issues when asking police officers to deal with issues such as truancy. The children generally speak English, and so are able to alter the circumstances of the situation (to the detriment of parental rights) when interacting with the police officers, who have to rely on the children to translate during attempts to resolve the problem.

d. Civil Rights

The Muslim communities have expressed concern that their safety may be in jeopardy each time an act of terrorism occurs in the world. They feel a sense of hostility and overt mistrust, on the part of some people in the mainstream community, with each occurrence of terrorism.

F. FUTURE OF MUSLIM COMMUNITY OUTREACH

The experience with outreach to the two individual Muslim communities thus far has proven successful, although the actual outreach process has been in place for only about six months. During this time, there has not been any major incident to challenge the fledgling relationships, yet the prognosis for continued success appears good.

Additional resources will be required to expand the police outreach to the greater Muslim community, including the Mount Airy and McDonough Muslim communities. The ability to expand more rapidly than anticipated may be a result of the collaboration with the Muslim American Society of Minnesota. Working in partnership with the Muslim American Society of Minnesota has allowed development of credible training and afforded previously unavailable access to sensitivity trainers. Training planned for 2006, for all sworn members of the police department, will include the sensitivity and

cultural competency training developed by the Muslim American Society, working in concert with police trainers. The partnership will also educate the greater Muslim community on the role of police, how to communicate with the police department, and the concept of community policing partnerships.

The two most difficult hurdles facing the outreach effort involve the language barrier (which may require a decade of work to overcome) and the Muslim community's sense of isolation from the mainstream community (which may stifle economic development). Avenues for addressing the language barrier include the Saint Paul Public Schools' Adult Education and Ramsey County Human Services, both of which offer English as a Second Language (ESL) programs. The Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis has an active community development program that works with the Somali community and may be able to address the economic development concerns of the greater Muslim community.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, "Community Dividend Alternative Financing: Issues and Opportunities for Lenders and Interest-Adverse Populations," no. 1, 2002 <http://www.minneapolisfed.org/pubs/cd/02-1/islamic.cfm> (accessed October 19, 2005).

IV. COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

This chapter contains a comparison of the six factors deemed influential in the two case studies involving the police-community outreach to the NAACP and the African-American Community and the Muslim communities of Saint Paul. The NAACP outreach information is analyzed and related to the Muslim community outreach information to determine whether any commonalities exist between the two community outreach processes. Additional analysis of the information examines whether there is any correlation between the factors that influenced the established outreach with the NAACP and the continuing Muslim community outreach that may be important to a successful outcome.

A. OUTREACH PROCESSES CONVERGENCE

Police culture and community culture and language were two of the six relationship factors examined during the comparative case study that were determined to have an effect on the outcome of the police community outreach processes involving both the NAACP and Muslim outreach projects.

B. OUTREACH PROCESSES DIVERGENCE

An analysis of the six major factors examined during the comparison of the case studies illustrated a lack of common attributes in four of the six relationship factors identified in the methodology statement: community leadership, police department leadership, mediation, and community concerns.

C. EXAMINATION OF RELATIONSHIP FACTORS

The following material contains an individual examination of the six major community relationship factors present in the NAACP Agreement process and the Muslim community outreach process.

1. Community Leadership

a. NAACP Agreement Process

Several leadership and advocacy groups, including the Saint Paul Chapter of the NAACP, the Saint Paul Urban League, and a large coalition of religious leaders who comprise the African-American Leadership Council, represent the African-American community in Saint Paul. The community empowers the leadership and advocacy groups to speak on its behalf when addressing social and civil rights issues related to law enforcement practices.

b. Muslim Community Outreach

Community-wide leadership does not exist in the Muslim community as it does in the African-American community. Local and national Muslim advocacy groups, such as the Muslim American Society and the Council on American-Islamic Relations, focus on civil rights issues and civic participation in American society, but the community does not generally empower the advocacy groups to represent the community. One reason for this rests in the self-organizing cluster population phenomenon that creates many individual Muslim community structures whose leadership is comprised of groups of elders within the individual communities. This structure applies to the current communities, dominated by foreign-born immigrants, but will probably change when second generation individuals become acculturated and eventually follow the progression of other immigrant communities such as the Hmong people in the City of Saint Paul. The Hmong immigrant population also lacked community-wide representation by any civic or social entities upon their arrival in Saint Paul. Organized leadership empowered by the community emerged five to ten years later in the course of the social acculturation process.

2. Police Department Leadership

a. NAACP Agreement Process

Police Department leadership had a significant impact on the outcome of the NAACP Agreement process. Chief Finney and NAACP President Nathaniel Khaliq had known each other for decades at the time of the NAACP Agreement. Finney's nearly lifelong involvement in the NAACP led him to believe the organization has succeeded in their efforts to improve the quality of life for African-Americans. The challenge to the

sustainability of the NAACP Agreement occurred after a change in the leadership of the police department. There is a possibility that the initial success of the agreement was due to the relationship between Chief Finney and NAACP President Khaliq. Also at issue is Khaliq's questioning of Chief John Harrington's commitment to the NAACP agreement, as well as the concern expressed over the level of communication with the chief. Harrington believes the current actors lack common ground and common values, and diverge in their strategic goals. Harrington's personal and professional history differs from that of retired Chief Finney, which may have an impact on the relationship with Nathaniel Khaliq that affects the sustainability of the NAACP Agreement.

Chief Harrington is an African-American who grew up in Chicago and has worked for the Saint Paul Police Department for twenty-seven years. He is nearly a generation younger than Finney and Khaliq and that may influence the dynamics of the relationship. Harrington commanded a district prior to appointment as chief and, during that time, he established strong relationships with other African-American organizations such as the African American Leadership Council and the Black Minister Alliance. Leaders of these religious, civic, educational, and business organizations are willing to join in the community policing effort and take an active role in problem solving. These willing partners tend to lessen the dependence on traditional community organizations, such as the NAACP and the Urban League, who wish to remain reactive. It is possible that the NAACP and the police department could not have reached the NAACP Agreement without the combined leadership of Finney and Khaliq.

b. Muslim Community Outreach

Saint Paul Police Chief Harrington's support for the Muslim community outreach is clear; he views building the relationship as a necessity. His redirection of internal resources supports this commitment.

Retired Chief Finney is also supportive of outreach to the Muslim community. During an interview, Finney clearly stated that outreach should extend to all of the communities within the police department's jurisdiction.⁷⁸ Finney believes the police chief and the police administration should continually assess community needs to understand how the police department can better serve the community. Finney believes

⁷⁸ William K Finney, interview with author.

the police department should establish strong relationships with new immigrant communities to help create mutual understanding and begin working together in the spirit of community policing.

The commonalities in the perspective of the police leadership, both past and present, indicate support for outreach to the Muslim community under the leadership of both.

3. Mediation

a. NAACP Agreement Process

The formal structure of the eventual agreement necessitated the use of a mediator and was critical to a positive outcome. The mediator was able to keep the process focused and productive.

b. Muslim Community Outreach

The police outreach to the Muslim community does not, at this time, call for a formal process that would require a written agreement. Building a strong relationship with the Muslim community is largely an informal process designed to develop a level of trust that allows for the police and community to begin working together in a community-policing environment. Muslim community structure and leadership at this time does not foster an environment where a formal agreement could encompass more than an individual cluster community.

4. Community Language and Culture

a. NAACP Agreement Process

The issues of racial profiling and bias-based policing were cultural barriers between the community and the police department that required a sense of resolution during the NAACP agreement process. Local law enforcement agencies need to understand the effect that discriminatory police practices have on building relationships based on trust with communities of color.

b. Muslim Community Outreach

Differences in language and culture are barriers that create difficulties for the outreach to the Muslim community. The barriers do not prevent a successful outcome, but they do lengthen the process and may take years to overcome. The language difficulty may eventually be resolved as each learns the other's language;

second-generation individuals in the Muslim community will probably become fluent in both languages, a phenomenon seen in other immigrant populations in the City of Saint Paul. Either factor will improve the ability for the police and the Muslim community to communicate better in the future. The differences in culture may be overcome in a much shorter period, due to training efforts currently in process (afforded by a partnership between the police department and the Muslim American Society). Police officers will undergo cultural competency training and members of the community will gain exposure to police practices that will help to bridge the cultural gap.

5. Police Culture

a. NAACP Agreement Process and Muslim Community Outreach

Police culture played a positive role in both processes due to the officers' experience with the principles of community policing that encourage building individual relationships and community trust. The police culture and training also emphasize the importance of understanding and working with diverse communities.

The research established that the basic principles of community-oriented policing are important to police outreach with any segment of the community. Police officers and police departments are well served by developing positive relationships with the members of the community they meet on a daily basis. Police officers who build individual relationships with community members create an environment that is conducive to expanding outreach to broader segments of the community. Those individual relationships create a sense of trust with the community that is needed to overcome any institutionalized sense of fear in new immigrants, or animus in communities of color caused by the racial profiling behavior of some police officers. The research demonstrated that the value of individual relationships was fundamentally important to the outreach process in both the African-American community and the Muslim community.

6. Community Concerns

a. NAACP Agreement Process

Issues important to the African-American community are ending negative interaction between the community and the police department and addressing civil rights issues caused by police misconduct. The community also sought police support in developing programs intended to address community-based crime prevention training directed at African-American youth. Community members also sought a permanent position on the Saint Paul Police Civilian Internal Affairs Review Commission panel that recommends findings related to complaints of police misconduct.

b. Muslim Community Outreach

The Muslim community seeks involvement with the police department as a partner in public safety efforts to make the community a better place for their families. Isolation from both the mainstream and greater Muslim community is also a cause for concern. Isolation from the mainstream community is a concern due to the loss of opportunity for growth and education for their children. Isolation from the greater Muslim community is a concern due to the potential loss of their community's religious beliefs, cultural beliefs, and ethnic identity. An issue common to most discussions with the Muslim community relates to the language barrier interfering with their parental rights. When the police are called to intervene in matters such as truancy, where the only avenue for communication involves the child interpreting the conversation between the parents and police officers, the parents fear a less than truthful translation by the child might interfere with parental supervision. The language barrier may also prevent the Muslim community's participation in mainstream society, potentially depriving the immigrants of economic development and employment opportunities. Both of these concerns were present in other immigrant communities, such as the Hmong during the mid to late 1980s.

The greater Muslim community is also concerned about violations of their civil rights at the hands of the mainstream community, due to backlash associated with Islamic terrorist activity. Recent acts of terrorism in Great Britain and weeks of riots in France have again raised concerns for the safety of Muslims in the United States. Muslim communities have expressed concern that their safety may be in jeopardy each

time an act of terrorism occurs in the world. Some members of the Muslim community sense hostility and overt mistrust from the mainstream community following acts of terrorism and military conflict occurring overseas.

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V. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In the aftermath of September 11, 2001, it became abundantly clear that law enforcement agencies, both federal and local, lacked the ability to gather investigative data from the Muslim community. On a federal level, investigators not only lacked the contacts in the community, they actually harmed some relationships by their lack of cultural understanding when attempting to gather information. On a local level, a language barrier and lack of relationships with the Muslim community thwarted communication. It is clear that building a strong relationship between the local police and the Muslim community is essential in defending America against acts of terrorism. Key to this relationship is trust between the groups and an understanding of cultural differences.

This thesis sought to determine what factors associated with building relationships with established communities can be applied to the immigrant Muslim communities to further public safety and homeland security needs. Specifically, what best practices learned from an outreach effort in the African-American community in the City of Saint Paul that could be used to produce results in the Muslim community? This examination involves generalizing potential implications associated with the successful African-American outreach process and tests the applicability of that process to the Muslim community-building effort.

An examination of the Muslim outreach process, using the case studies contained in this thesis, does not provide any basis to believe the hypothesis, as stated, is true. The hypothesis suggests that applying the lessons learned from the NAACP outreach process should enhance the outreach process within the Muslim community in the greater Saint Paul metropolitan area. The examination of six community relationship factors common to the two different community outreach projects found that only two of the six factors, identified as the Saint Paul Police Department's culture and the community culture and language, had an influence on the outcome of the community outreach efforts in the immigrant Muslim community.

The findings in the thesis support the importance of the police culture's adaptability in dealing with immigrant populations. Specifically, law enforcement must understand the psychological effects associated with new immigrant populations (as related to their countries of origin) and incorporate new practices in police response sensitive to the needs and psychological aspects of specific communities. Although community "culture" influenced both the African-American and Muslim outreach efforts, as stated above, language was only pertinent to the latter.

The research demonstrates that community policing is the cornerstone of community outreach, regardless of the demographics of the community. Further, it supports the theory that the individual relationships law enforcement officers build on a routine basis form the platform for community outreach.

Further findings indicate that local law enforcement must be willing to muster the additional resources necessary to reach out to an immigrant community, because effective outreach will place increased demands on budget and personnel largely due to differences in language and community fragmentation.

The complexity of culture in new immigrant communities requires law enforcement to go beyond the traditional community policing efforts to attain acceptable levels of cultural competency. Unlike other traditional immigrant populations, such as Latino or Hmong, there is no common language among immigrant Muslims. This presents a plethora of issues when attempting to communicate with the community.

While Islamic religion and culture may be similar among Muslims, for Westerners to attain a level of cultural competency presents a challenge that includes understanding the treatment of women, Islamic law, and religious tradition.

The true best practice learned from this research is the importance of building trust with the community being serving. In the face of all of the challenges stated above, the establishment of a trusting relationship transcended all barriers for this researcher. The friendship and trusting relationship that has been established will allow for future communication during critical times, including during the investigation of potential terrorist activity.

It became apparent, while conducting the research for this thesis that parallels exist between the experiences of the Muslim immigrant population and the Hmong immigrant population. The Hmong people began arriving in Saint Paul during the early 1980s and faced many, if not the same, issues now confronting the Muslim immigrants: language barriers, cultural differences, and immigrant fear of authorities generated by having lived under oppressive conditions in their country of origin. A longitudinal examination of the successful acculturation of the Hmong people could provide a roadmap of the difficulties new immigrant communities may encounter and illustrate how local law enforcement can address the issues based on lessons learned from the previous experience.

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